The German Tribune

mburg, 8 June 1980
teenth Year - No. 944 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Cash deal heads-off Community crisis

…C Foreign Ministers, meeting in Brus…, have agreed to refund proposals …lling £ 1,577m this year next to …ly offset Britain's heavy net contri…ion to Common Market finances. But …r members of the Nine will have to … the gap instead. The terms agreed …ost Bonn an extra DM2.6bn in 1980 …1981, and this year Bonn, with a net …ribution of DM4.1bn, will continue …e the leading net source of Common …ket cash.

…et no-one succumb to the illusion …that the Community's reputation … been restored overnight as a result …the agreement reached by EEC Agri…ture and Foreign Ministers in Brus….

A reputable compromise it may be, …t it has no shortage of cloven hooves. …sides, the Common Market was by no …ans in dispute only over CAP and net …tributions.

Of late the Nine have accumulated a …es of problems. It has almost been as …ough they have developed a taste for …ises.

They ranged from the dispute over higher farm price guarantees, a lower net contribution to the Brussels coffers by Britain, the 1980 EEC budget (which has still not been passed by the European Parliament) and dissension over …actions against Iran to the Moscow Olympic boycott.

The Community is inured to crises, which may be an advantage. Someone unaccustomed to them might well have despaired at the difficulties into which the Nine had manoeuvred themselves.

Nationalist egoism to the point of stubbornness and shortsightedness has left the Common Market weak at the knees and in a state of weakness reminiscent of a previous crisis a decade and a half ago.

In those days the EEC was paralysed for a while by General de Gaulle's empty-chair policy.

On this occasion, agreement was reached on two issues after a long night's session in Brussels.

But a great deal remains to be done even if Westminister agrees to the terms and Mrs Thatcher does not have the House of Commons vote against the package because she is still not satisfied.

At the same time the Nine's Foreign and Agriculture Ministers did make substantial headway, albeit political, not economic. The argument about EEC farm prices and Britain's net contribution had reached such a stage that the Common Market structure was beginning to show signs of wear and tear.

France had already threatened to catapult Britain out of the common agricultural market, while in Britain, anti-Marketeers have gained dangerous ground.

The risk of the European Community degenerating into an organisation with two categories of membership loomed alarmingly large.

And who was going to submit voluntarily to second-rank membership? Certainly not Britain. In all probability it would have politely declined and tendered its resignation.

This risk has been eliminated (for the time being) but only at a high price. Farm price guarantees are to be increased by five per cent as a sop to the French. Economically this is nonsense.

The EEC Commission reached the upper limit of what was economically tolerable in proposing farm price increases of two and a half per cent.

EEC finances are met by a one-per-cent levy on member-countries, value-added tax revenue and by tariffs and levies of other kinds.

Expenditure is likely to exceed income by next year at the latest. Farm price subsidies are simply too expensive, and the higher prices agreed in Brussels will merely accelerate matters.

So will the failure to impose effective penalties on overproduction of milk and, last but not least, the new mutton regulations.

Anyone would have thought the Common Market did not have enough of such costly ballast to underwrite as it was, yet the Brussels terms will cost a further DM500m a year.

Mrs Thatcher is keen to be hailed as the consumer's friend, yet when the decision was taken in Brussels and Britain had to decide between British voters and European consumers she too decided discretion was the better part of valour.

Fine-sounding ambitions of doing something about the irksome CAP once and for all and cutting costs to something warrantable were gone with the wind, sacrificed to her own advantage.

Consumers must as a result expect food prices to go up again.

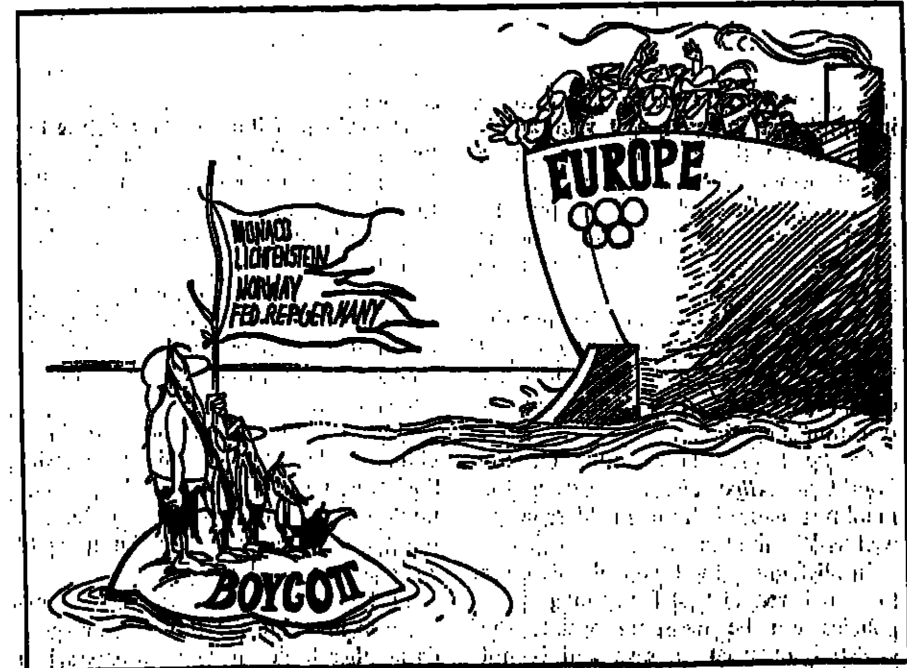
Yet it would be wrong to lay the blame solely at Mrs Thatcher's door. She merely took advantage of the opportunity, just as the French did.

France regarded an amply-propor-

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

The German Tribune Political Affairs Review is included with this issue.



(Cartoon: Hanel/Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)



Soviet Deputy Premier Nikolai Tikhonov makes a point to Chancellor Schmidt during their meeting in Bonn. (Photo: Bundesbildstelle)

Bonn, Moscow to extend economic links

Bonn and Moscow are to intensify and extend economic cooperation, especially in the energy sector (oil and natural gas), between now and the end of the century.

Long-term objectives were laid down until the year 2003 at the ninth session of the joint economic affairs commission in Bonn.

Statements were made for the two sides by Bonn's Economic Affairs Minister, Count Lambsdorff, and Soviet Deputy Premier Nikolai Tikhonov.

The 75-year old Soviet economist, a Kremlin leader, was the highest-ranking Soviet visitor to Bonn since the outbreak of the Afghanistan crisis.

The joint gathering was to have been held early in January but was postponed on account of Afghanistan.

The commission drew up a long-term programme to flesh out the 25-year-economic affairs agreement concluded by the two countries in 1978.

It will be signed by President Brezhnev and Chancellor Schmidt in Moscow at the end of this month.

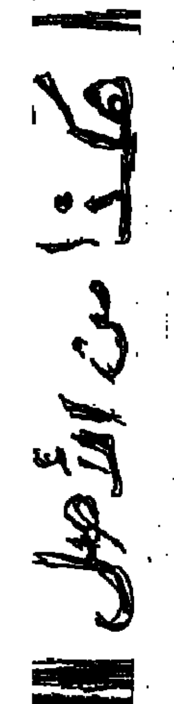
After the two days of talks, Count Lambsdorff and Mr Tikhonov voiced satisfaction with the course they had taken. "Economic ties are satisfactory," said the Bonn Minister, "but they cannot be viewed separately from the background of international affairs."

Economic and international affairs were reviewed by Mr Tikhonov and Chancellor Schmidt when they met on May 30.

Asked whether the discussion of economic affairs had included limitations in the supply of strategic goods to Moscow, Count Lambsdorff chose to answer with a curt …

dpa

(… Abendblatt, 31 May 1980)



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Coalition caught between mirror accusations of left and right

In politics as elsewhere common sense often falls between a number of stools, as Chancellor Schmidt and his Social and Free Democratic coalition government well know.

They are accused by left-wingers of allowing themselves without so much as a whimper to be harnessed to the US policy yoke, while the Opposition Christian Democrats accuse them of the exact opposite.

To judge by what Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss has to say, you would think Helmut Schmidt was in favour of decoupling Europe from the United States and backing submission to the Soviet Union.

Both accusations are clearly nonsense, and show a disregard for the realities of West German politics. Yet they will largely determine the tenor of the general election campaign now in progress.

There are a number of reasons why skirmishing has occurred at this point, and few have anything to do with either West Germany or the Bonn government.

Even so, it is perhaps better to begin by outlining the German contribution towards confusion on the political front before dealing with external causes of Bonn's current difficult political position.

The part played by the Christian Democrats (CDU) and their Bavarian counterparts, Herr Strauss's Christian Social Union (CSU), in the seemingly confusing picture West German politics presents to the outside observer is undoubtedly home-made.

In view of the difficulty in drawing up an alternative policy of his own to deal with international political problems Herr Strauss prefers to rely entirely on defamation of the coalition parties — not, let it be added, the newest of ideas.

Social Democrats and, of late, liberals, have often been decried as uncertain allies and, when the need was felt to arise, as journeymen without a fatherland, to quote the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck.

Chancellor Schmidt enjoys such a high reputation with the electorate that basically he need hardly worry about such accusations, except inasmuch as insinuations by the right wing of the Opposition strike a chord in other countries.

They repeatedly fire the imagination of both politicians and the public in Western Europe and the United States, in Eastern Europe and in Moscow.

They are, for instance, largely the reason why in the United States the question time and again arises: "Can we really trust those Germans?"

In other Western countries this tendency is likewise encouraged by the inclination of a number of left-wing Social Democrats to pour the baby out with the bathwater and hear nothing of US policy being in any way satisfactory even when, for once, the other side is in the right.

This makes it no easier for the Chancellor and his government to pursue policies that are in the national interest, since any such policies must be based on two essentials.

They must first rely on an efficient Western alliance, then depend on Bonn's ability to convience the Soviet Union and its allies that West Germany continues to be in favour of detente, refuse though it may to accept moves by Moscow that jeopardise detente.

So far both requirements have been fairly well met. The United States cannot seriously doubt Bonn's loyalty to the West, even though it must by now have realised that Bonn doesn't feel blind Nibelungen loyalty to be the pinnacle of wisdom.

In Moscow, on the other hand, no-one seriously expects Bonn to pull out of the Western alliance, as occasional swingeing attacks, interspersed with reassuring gestures, clearly show.

So we might feel reasonably satisfied were it not for other factors. Not for nothing is the Bonn government perennially keen to arrive at a Western European consensus — not only on EEC farm prices, but also on major international issues.

Bonn is rightly convinced th[illegible] many is not cut out to play fi[illegible] in the concert of nations, and b[illegible] large that is how the United Sta[illegible] its partners in Western Europe li[illegible]

Calls for West Germany to sh[illegible] greater share of Western leaders[illegible] by no means as seriously meant a[illegible] are occasionally made to sound [illegible] don, Paris and Washington.

The situation has, however, [illegible] more problematic. Bonn's frie[illegible] Western Europe may jealously [illegible] sure that an exclusively Bonn-W[illegible] ton axis does not take shape, [illegible] upsetting the West European ba[illegible] power.

Yet Britain and France have [illegible] punction in going their own wa[illegible] it might be in their national int[illegible] do so. They may also lament that [illegible] government does not regularly [illegible] its Nato partners but are not [illegible] strictly in line with their cons[illegible] commitments either.

There is no lack of examples to [illegible] trate the point. Imagine what a h[illegible] cry there would have been thro[illegible] the Western alliance if the Bonn [illegible] vernment had partly backed dow[illegible] the jointly resolved Iran sanction[illegible] Britain has just done.

What ever would have been s[illegible] Helmut Schmidt had held an off[illegible] cuff meeting with Mr Brezhnev wi[illegible] previously consulting his allies, a[illegible] Giscard d'Estaing did?

Not only Washington but also L[illegible] don and Paris would do well to re[illegible] little more fequently that an alliance [illegible] only run smoothly when all its mem[illegible] share equal rights and obligations.

If they continue to allow national[illegible] indeed nationalist vanities and inte[illegible] to hold pride of place over joint [illegible] sions, the result might one day be [illegible] alarming dissatisfaction with Europe [illegible] West Germany, which is something no [illegible] one can seriously want to happen.

Werner Holzer
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 27 May 1980)

Cash deal

Continued from page 1

tioned CAP as the very prerequisite of salvaging the Community, while Germany cannot be said to have behaved in a particularly logical manner either.

After having generously offered to lend Britain a financial hand at the Luxembourg summit in April, Bonn later made as to withdraw the offer.

Why on earth did it go back on the offer? Britain had not suddenly grown fabulously wealthy in the meantime.

So on balance the European Community cannot currently be said to present more than a tolerably positive picture, and not even this more or less friendly assessment cannot be upheld any too well once the Nine's foreign policy is taken into account.

There are always Europeans who reckon the Nine will be a serious factor in world affairs, yet when the chips are down they are unable to join forces with sufficient conviction.

On the Olympic boycott, for instance, Bonn has emerged as an outsider. Views may differ as to whether a decision to boycott the Moscow Olympics might possibly induce the Kremlin to show at all willing on Afghanistan.

But, as far as the Common Market countries were concerned the least they could have aimed at was a joint approach, even if sports officials were not to follow suit.

Olympic abstinence in bits and pieces is no use whatever, and European political cooperation, a much-vaunted concept, went similarly by the board in the Iran sanctions context.

The Nine ought at the very least to have based their watered-down moves towards Tehran on the Treaty of Rome so as to make them binding on all EEC members.

Britain would not then have been able to backslide without so much as a by-your-leave. Thus all that was joint about the joint strategy was agreement on the lowest common denominator — hardly a recommendation for the European Community in world affairs.

Klaus Bohnhof
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 May 1980)

Schmidt quickly rebuts paper's editor

Chancellor Schmidt has sent a telegram of protest to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* over a leading article by its editor.

According to Fritz Ullrich Fack, the Chancellor was aiming to "soften" Nato's decision to modernise its medium-range nuclear missile potential as a gift to the Kremlin in preparation for his visit to Moscow.

Herr Schmidt said in his telegram that Bonn's policy might sustain serious damage abroad as a result of the false assertions in Herr Fack's leader.

The Chancellor's relationship with the Press is not the best, but this step was for him, unusual.

The Nato decision created difficulties for the Chancellor once before, when he interpreted it in terms that were ambiguous, to say the least, in a speech to a Social Democratic party conference.

Herr Schmidt took pains to put the record straight on this point and is clearly most upset that any doubts are still voiced.

He was all the more riled because the Young Socialists had just blandly praised him for the statement he had felt obliged to clarify, choosing to ignore the clarification altogether.

So he trained heavy guns on the *Frankfurter Allgemeine* especially as the Frankfurt daily is read in Moscow as well as Washington.

In all fairness the Chancellor deserves to be believed, at least for as long as his policies can be measured against the yardstick of what he says and is not found to be short measure.

The proof of the pudding will come when he visits Moscow, as he and Foreign Minister Genscher plan to do at the end of the month.

Herr Schmidt's sensitivities have doubtless been heightened by the growing problems that have arisen in connection with the Moscow visit.

He runs a risk of returning from the Soviet capital empty-handed. He cannot afford to do so and has no intention of so doing.

The evident failure of the meeting between President Giscard d'Estaing and Mr Brezhnev has warned the Chancellor that the Kremlin is not prepared to discuss any kind of compromise over Afghanistan.

Bonn government officials are now trying to dispel suspicions that the Chancellor's visit was really intended to induce Moscow to pull its troops out of Afghanistan.

Herr Schmidt will, of course, be broaching Afghanistan in his talks with Soviet leaders and he will have some unpleasant points to make, but he will not be expecting the Kremlin to yield an inch on the subject.

That is why he attaches such importance to including on the Moscow agenda another topic on which progress is a less distant prospect: disarmament.

There are signs in Bonn that t[illegible] Chancellor plans to embark on a [illegible] armament bid in Moscow. In explora[illegible] talks the Soviet Union is said to h[illegible] shown interest.

Herr Schmidt is balancing on a ti[illegible] rope. Nato's modernisation decision [illegible] hold forth the possibility of disarm[illegible] ment talks at the same time.

But how is the missile gap (to t[illegible] Soviet Union's advantage) to be brid[illegible] in Europe and how is a satisfacto[illegible] agreement on balanced arms limita[illegible] to be arrived at, and how are the two [illegible] be combined?

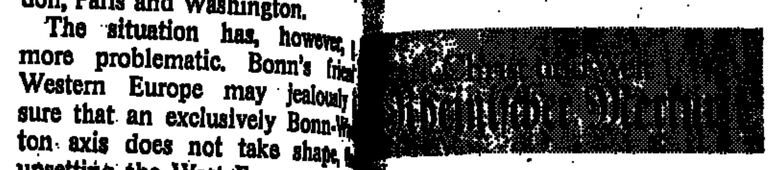
This is the Chancellor's secret, for [illegible] time being at least, so it is easy t[illegible] derstand why he is so ill-humo[illegible] present.

Hans Jörg S[illegible]
(Handelsblatt, 27 [illegible])

The German Tri[illegible]
Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-in-[illegible] Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. Eng[illegible] sub-editor: Simon Burnett. — Distribu[illegible] Georgine Picone. [illegible]
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoe[illegible] Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1. Telex: 02-14733. [illegible]
Advertising rates list No. 13 — Annual subscription DM 35. [illegible]
Printed by Druck- und Verlagshaus F[illegible] Bremen-Blumenthal. Distributed in the USA [illegible] MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West 24th Street, N[illegible] 10011. [illegible]
All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE [illegible] published in cooperation with the edito[illegible] leading newspapers of the Federal Repub[illegible] ny. They are complete translations of the o[illegible] no way abridged nor editorially redrafted. [illegible] TRIBUNE also publishes quarterly [illegible] featuring articles selected from German [illegible]
[illegible]

HOME AFFAIRS

Opposition bounces back with a new defiance



[illegible]he CDU has come back full of [illegible] bounce and confidence from its [illegible]ion defeats in North Rhine-West[illegible]ia and the Saar.

[illegible]e change was brought about by the [illegible] conference in Berlin.

[illegible]efiant smiles have replaced the [illegible]d looks of defeat.

[illegible]ew in the party talk of victory, but [illegible] fighting spirit is growing.

[illegible]he twilight of the gods in the [illegible]U/CSU? Astonishing things are [illegible]g place. One of these is the plan[illegible] of a joint CDU/CSU event.

[illegible]his revolutionary occurrence was ori[illegible]lly to have taken place on June 6, [illegible]en the CDU/CSU team was to be [illegible]ented to the public. The meeting [illegible] now been postponed until August [illegible] allegedly because it clashed with the [illegible]holics' Conference.

The delicacy of the matter is not to [illegible] overlooked! If the meeting were to [illegible] place, it would be unique in the [illegible]tory of the Opposition.

Never before has there been a simul[illegible]eous meeting of CDU and CSU de[illegible]ates. Even the executives of the two [illegible]ties have never had a joint meeting [illegible] their 30-year history.

Apart from the strategy commission, which arose from a dispute, the Bundes[illegible]tag party was the sole organ of the striving for unity.

It is not as if the idea has not been there. The dream of a joint meeting is as old as the squabbles between the two sister parties: All CDU leaders from Adenauer to Kohl have devoutly wished such a meeting to take place when Bavarian idiosyncrasy has battered and harassed them.

But their dreams were in vain.

The raison d'etre of the CSU, as Strauss's predecessors also realised, was the preservation of its independence. A joint party conference might have [illegible]en the beginning of their absorption into the larger CDU.

Twice the CDU came close to ending Bavarian autonomy. The first time was [illegible] 1950.

Konrad Adenauer, who had then been [illegible]ancellor for a year, delayed the con[illegible]tuent party conference of the CDU [illegible] as long as possible, to persuade his [illegible]eagues south of the Main to join. [illegible]wever, when the CDU leaders gathered to found the party in Goslar the CSU [illegible]yed away — "conscious of their Bavarian mission", as the *Bayern Kurier* [illegible]bulously put it.

The next chance for the big coup [illegible]me 20 years later, and most unexpec[illegible]tedly. The sister parties could not agree [illegible] the nomination of a Shadow Chan[illegible]ellor and so to everyone's surprise [illegible]chard Stücklen suggested a joint party [illegible]nference.

Bruno Heck of the CDU hastened [illegible]fully to Munich to sound out the [illegible]SU, and Rainer Barzel effused: "That [illegible]uld be wonderful. We have been wait[illegible] for this for 20 years. Now we will [illegible]ways have a joint election platform [illegible]d so on. This is an old dream of [illegible]rs."

Years later, the worthy Stücklen, with the approval of the grateful CDU, was elected Bundestag speaker. His initiative at the time was immediately stopped, blocked by Strauss. The objection was that the different modes of fixing the numbers of delegates in each party.

This halted the controversial project before it could develop its own dynamism.

"Among the rank and file," where power is not at stake, the emotional commitment to a one-party opposition is strong. The insubordination of the rank and file following the first Kreuth

Continued on page 7

Strauss at the helm (Cartoon: Haitzinger/tz-München)

Strauss takes a break with questions unanswered



After his still much-discussed performance at the Berlin CDU conference Franz Josef Strauss took off for a holiday in Greece, leaving a perplexed CDU/CSU behind.

Strauss promised a tougher approach in the dispute with the SPD, warned Herr Schmidt he was going to have a fight on his hands, and announced is intention to name a CDU/CSU election team.

The CDU electoral strategists have got their programme with some difficulty, into the joint election manifesto.

But they do not know what the candidate's emphases are going to be.

The election team is due to be announced, but so far Strauss has spoken to no one in the CDU leadership about it.

The first consultations were due to take place in Mainz. Strauss, returning direct from his holiday, will take part in a CDU Youth Festival in Mainz, at which he will hold discussions with CDU leader Helmut Kohl. Kohl hopes Strauss has answers to the open questions.

A colleague of Kohl said that in Mainz he would only be listening, and would make no proposals of his own.

The CDU hopes that Strauss's ideas of the election team will be the central theme of these discussions.

The reason for Kohl's reserve is the snub Strauss recently gave the CDU leadership, it is said.

After the defeat in the North Rhine-Westphalia *Land* elections, the CDU executive considered the conclusions to be drawn. Kohl then told a press conference of the need to have experts for certain areas in the CDU/CSU, to give the Opposition more credibility. Strauss rejected these proposals and the CDU's recommendation that only a small team should be nominated.

Strauss refuses to give the members of the team responsibilities for political areas within the team. He also wishes to appoint a 20-man team "representing the entire depth and breath of the Union", as he told the party conference. He added ironically that posts and decorations would only be distributed after and election victory.

However, Strauss is on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, he does not want to be hemmed in by a few leading CDU men because he suspects the intention behind this is to defuse his effect as Shadow Chancellor.

On the other hand, he would be inviting trouble by nominating certain politicians for certain areas, as their are many candidates for certain posts within the Union.

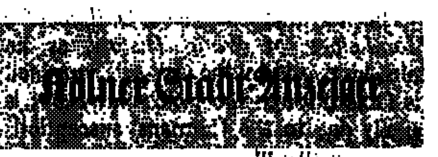
This is especially true of defence and foreign policy. The case of Kiep underlines the difficulty facing Strauss. Lower Saxony finance minister Kiep is keen on foreign policy. If Strauss appoints him Shadow Foreign Minister, there will be strong protests from the CSU and the Bundestag party. If he does not appoint Kiep, the Northern lights in the CDU, whom Kiep represents, might reduce their commitment to Strauss's campaign.

Another uncertainty factor for the Shadow Chancellor is whether the CDU's poor performance in recent elections may not have made some potential nominees unwilling to join his team. Strauss believes at any rate that naming a large team is the best solution. It would commit neither him nor anyone else too much.

The decision has not yet been taken. But this too is a [illegible] criticism. A Bonn CDU official complained: "Clear decisions on these things are part of leadership." [illegible]

Hans Jörg Sottorf
(Handelsblatt, 30 May 1980)

Committee will keep election manners under scrutiny



An arbitration committee has been formed with the aim of ensuring that the election campaign is conducted along proper lines.

The job of the committee is to see that the parties stick to the arguments and policies, and that candidates are not slandered or vilified.

It will go into action on July 1. Before then, any party that feels it has been injured will have to take the matter to the courts.

According to the Speaker of the Bundestag, Richard Stücklen, members of the committee are ideally suited to the task because of the wealth of political experience among them.

He hoped that all involved would take their duty to conduct a fair election campaign seriously so that the committee would not need to pass judgement or take action. If they were called in, he was convinced they would judge correctly. The committee is chaired by former Protestant military bishop Hermann Kunst.

The CDU is represented on the committee by former Bundestag speaker Gerstenmaier and Herr Otto Theissen, ex minister of justice in the Rhineland Palatinate. The SPD's representatives are former Bonn Finance Minister Alex Möller and Max Seidel. Former Schleswig-Holstein justice minister Bernhard Leverenz and Frau Dr Emmy Diemer-Nicolaus represent the FDP. The CSU's men are former Bavarian minister Seidl, and Herr Hanauer.

The Bonn speaker offered them the facilities and meeting rooms of the Home Affairs Committee, so to speak as a neutral venue. Why the Home Affairs Committee [illegible] the committee, Stücklen said it was because this committee was responsible for electoral and party law.

Kunst and his fellow arbiters regard the election campaign with calm. They are relying on their authority and composure. They will at first rely on admonitions and the art of persuasion, contenting themselves with showing yellow cards to keep the game under control.

They have no red cards with which to send off the verbal boot boys of the political parties.

Their severest sanction is "unanimous condemnation." This would of course be galling but would have no direct consequences for the "condemned."

Dieter von König
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 May 1980)

■ PHILOSOPHIES

East and West pay homage to father of military theorists

The 200th anniversary of the birth of Carl von Clausewitz on June 1 was commemorated throughout the world — in East and West. The Prussian major-general did not become famous through battles won but through his classical work, 'On War'. This work does not deal with war as such but with war as the ultimate instrument of politics.

Clausewitz breaks down war ("conflict of major interests which is resolved in blood") into three component parts, in order of priority.

- The political objective
- The aim of the war itself
- The military means

But he says that politics is the major factor in all three parts: even the armed forces are a political instrument above all — an instrument used by politics to secure peace.

These aspects deserve world-wide attention on the eve of the 200th anniversary of Carl von Clausewitz's birth.

He is the only classical military man recognised, used and quoted time and again in East and West. Accordingly, the anniversary of his birth will be commemorated by both power blocs — a most unusual situation in our divided world.

In this country, the Clausewitz Society has already celebrated the anniversary with a very successful congress at the Bundeswehr Leadership Academy in Hamburg.

And it is certain that tribute will be paid to the Prussian general by a guard of honour at his grave in the city of his birth, Burg, near Magdeburg, East Germany.

The GDR authorities saw to it that "their" General von Clausewitz, who died in Wroclaw (now Poland) and was buried there, was exhumed in the 1960s and taken to his final resting place with full military honours.

But the Clausewitz anniversary will not only be celebrated in the two Germanies. The rest of the world will also pay tribute to him.

There are good reasons for this — especially for the Leninist sphere of interest. But only the few historians who have delved deeply into Clausewitz know these reasons.

It is one of the many paradoxical traits of German history that the politically minded Clausewitz was not discovered by the German military brass.

It was, instead, Friedrich Engels, the founder of militant world communism, who deserves credit for this.

In a letter which the "general" and military expert of the first communist movement wrote to Karl Marx, Engels termed Clausewitz a "star of the first order".

The consequences could not be foreseen at the time. Many decades later, Lenin also became interested in Clausewitz and studied his *On War* in 1915 while in exile in Switzerland.

He wrote down excerpts and made notes in the margin of the book — notes which have meanwhile become part of the dogma of Leninism.

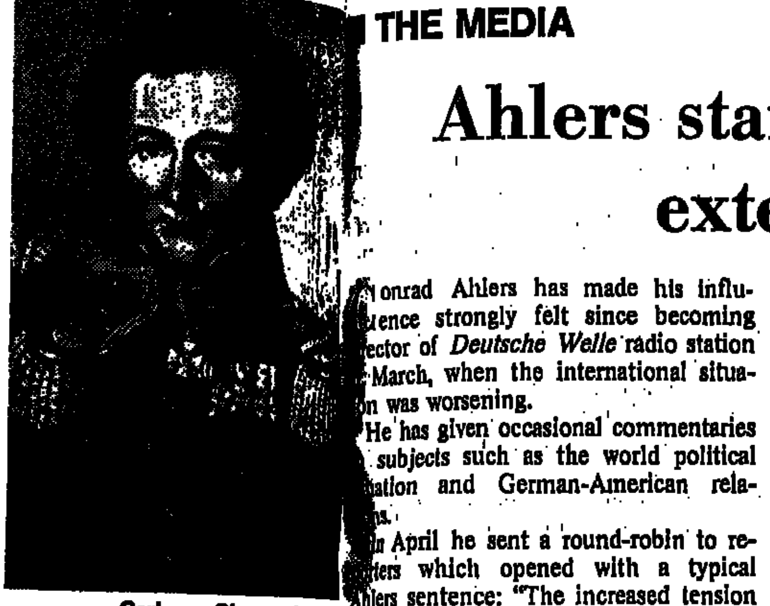
Thus, Clausewitz attracted more and more interest — first in Moscow, where the study of his works was made a compulsory subject at the Frunse Military Academy. From there, his fame radiated to most other orthodox communist countries, including the China of that time.

When Chancellor Helmut Schmidt visited Peking he was told of the high esteem which Mao Tse-tung held for the German philosopher of war.

But Lenin would not have been the totalitarian revolutionary and ideological fanatic that he was had he not "revolutionised" Clausewitz as well. In other words, he turned him inside out as Marx did with Hegel; and this should be remembered today.

In the old pre-1918 Germany, the most important thesis of *On War* was quoted over and over. But it was never properly understood nor did anybody act in accordance with it. This thesis says: "War is the continuation of politics with other means."

The priority of politics over purely military matters was thus clearly established. But Wilhelminian Prussia accepted this.



Carl von Clausewitz

(Pho...

Lenin, on the other hand, dr... revolutionary conclusions from it... proclaimed: "Politics is the contin... of war and class struggle with all... and illegal means."

It is not known whether strict... nists have abandoned this principle... it is important to stress that Claus... himself saw politics in an entirely... ferent light.

In the sixth chapter, section B, of ... *War*, headed "War is an Instrument... Politics", he wrote: "It must be pre... posed that politics encompasses... balances all interests of internal a... nistration including those of huma... and whatever else philosophical ... might mention.

"For politics is nothing in itself...

Continued on page 6

Oswald Spengler charted the inevitable role of history

Art and philosophy have "irrevocably become a thing of the past." The people, be they factory workers or entrepreneurs, are "slaves" of the "devilish machine," Oswald Spengler wrote in the *Decline of the West*.

Leadership in the economy is exercised by the "engineer, the knowing priest of the machine." "The dictatorship of money continues."

The new man is the "totally unmetaphysical, uprooted dweller of the metropolis, the traditionless realist in the amorphous mass — irreligious, intelligent, barren."

"For him, *Weltanschauung* is above all a matter of money."

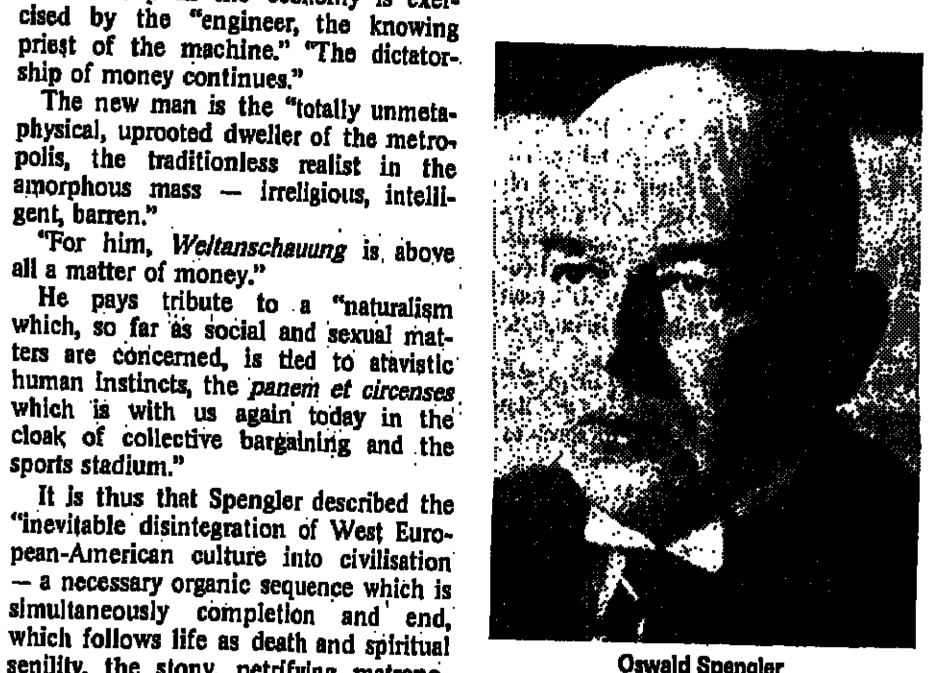
He pays tribute to a "naturalism which, so far as social and sexual matters are concerned, is tied to atavistic human instincts, the *panem et circenses* which is with us again today in the cloak of collective bargaining and the sports stadium."

It is thus that Spengler described the "inevitable disintegration of West European-American culture into civilisation — a necessary organic sequence which is simultaneously completion and end, which follows life as death and spiritual senility, the stony, petrifying metropolis."

And as to the economic framework in which this takes place, he writes: "The stream of economic life moves towards the major raw materials areas; nature is exhausted, the globe is sacrificed to the Faustian thinking in categories of energy."

For the engineer and "his economy, energy and performance take the place of the person and the object."

Spengler, who was born 100 years ago on May 29, 1880, the son of a civil servant on Blankenburg, now East Germany, wrote the major part of this amazingly far-sighted analysis between 1913 and 1917.



Oswald Spengler

(Photo: dpa)

In 1918, when the first volume of his *Decline of the West* was published, he was avidly read by the Germany — perhaps because he permitted them to view their own military defeat as part of a general decline.

The second volume, published in 1922, met with a much less enthusiastic response.

The fact that Spengler's *Outline of a Morphology of World History*, as he calls his work in the sub-title, retained its fame through the 1920s and 1930s is largely due to the Germans' susceptibility to negative utopias.

This was promoted in equal measure by the First and the Second World Wars. And today again the world is seized by visions of doom. It trembles at the thought of dwindling energy supplies and a global North-South conflict.

In his essay, *Years of Decision* (1933), Spengler wrote on this subject: "What if one day the class and race struggle combine to put an end to the white world? This is in the nature of things, and neither of the two revolutions will turn down the help of others only because ir despite them."

In *Man and Technics* (1931), he put forward the curious thesis that the white peoples should have kept their technical knowledge from the coloureds. But instead, he wrote, they were "proud of the admiration of Indians and Japanese."

This had inevitably turned into "the revenge of the exploited world against its masters."

Spengler, who resigned his position as teacher of mathematics in 1910 and afterwards lived in Munich as a private scholar, frequently combined startling insights with abstruse recommendatio... and outlooks.

Decline of the West closes with ... evocation of that "ambition of str... generations which does not lie in t... amassing of riches but in the task... genuine leadership beyond all mon... advantage ... Only blood conquers ... relinquishes money."

Although this "prophet of the cons... vative revolution", as Hermann ... called him, certainly prepared t... ground for the intellectual climate ... the Nazi ideology with such dire p... phecies, he himself never fell for t... Nazis.

He saw Hitler as a carnival dict... and opposed his Teutonism, ... "Race is what one has not what one be... longs to. The one thing is ethics and th... other zoology."

Thomas Mann was disgusted ... Oswald Spengler as early as 192... abhorred the "schoolmasterly unimag... tiveness and fatalism and the ... like prophet attitude" as he ... "malicious absolutism" which ... over the development of the hum... spirit as if this development were ... imponderable.

Apart from the many questions ... cerning historic facts, this has remai... the most important objection to Spe... ler: based on a pseudo-biological ... cept of man, he saw history as an ... rable process and "world tribunal."

He differs from dogmatic Marx... only regarding the aim but not ... construction.

Whether the people — the proleta... — are assigned a leadership role ... whether this role is played by the ...

Continued on page 7

THE MEDIA

Ahlers stamps his influence on the external radio service

Konrad Ahlers has made his influence strongly felt since becoming ...ector of *Deutsche Welle* radio station ... March, when the international situa...on was worsening.

He has given occasional commentaries ... subjects such as the world political ...ation and German-American rela...ns.

In April he sent a round-robin to re...ters which opened with a typical Ahlers sentence: "The increased tension in the world political situation and particularly Bonn's involvement in the West's crisis management, has led us to consider how we can adjust our programmes to the crisis situation presently affecting the Federal Republic of Germany."

He also recommended "support for what strengthens our own resistance." These are good maxims for the two Cologne-based radio stations *Deutsche Welle* ans *Deutschlandfunk* public corporations which broadcast in several dozen languages to many countries, presenting and explaining the German viewpoint on important questions.

Deutsche Welle has made three changes in its programme in response to the Afghanistan crisis. It now gives more air-time to broadcasts in Pushtu and Dari to the central Asian crisis area and has also stepped up its English language broadcasts to North America.

The station broadcasts 160 minutes in Russian per day, in three blocks. There have been proposals to increase the time allocation here, too, but the Radio Council has not yet made up its mind. There are too many people involved in the decision-making process. And there is talk of "technical difficulties."

However, *Deutsche Welle* will soon be starting broadcasts in Cantonese. Editor in Chief Jaene says that the station has good contacts with China. A new relay station is being set up in Sri Lanka, and this will improve transmissions to South East Asia. The foundation stone is due to be laid this autumn.

The Bundestag Budget Committee keeps a tight financial rein on *Deutsche Welle*, and has cut its budget by DM3m. The same does not apply to *Deutschlandfunk*, with its German-language programme to both parts of Germany. The Radio Council chairman says it has developed "a high degree of sensibility to political and social changes." It also provices Bonn politicians with excellent opportunities to improve their profiles.

This means that *Deutsche Welle* is forced to make organisational shifts and changes if it is to respond effectively to world crises. All it can really do is switch programmes around or change the content of programmes.

Thoughts about reducing programmes in one language, say Greek, and increasing them in, say Swahili, involve obvious staff difficulties. Blocks can however be changed without affecting the transmission times or frequencies.

Deutsche Welle planners are seriously considering such changes now. It is well known that almost half the listeners switch off after half an hour of the longer broadcasts. This is why the *Deutsche Welle* has to date broadcast tougher material for the intellectually demanding in the final quarter of its programmes. By reducing broadcasts to half an hour and increasing the number of broadcasts correspondingly, the programmes would on the whole be easier and probably more effective.

Soviet dissidents have written in *Samizdat* publications that the BBC's Russian-language programmes are many-sided and interesting but far too academic and obviously addressed to the intelligentsia.

This has given Cologne programme planners food for thought. If changes in transmission times were made, local TV-watching habits could be better taken into account. The ideal time for listeners is the early hours of the evening; after this, families prefer to watch TV.

Russian-language journalists at *Deutsche Welle* are now pressing for a transmission time of between 18.00 and 18.30 hours. This would be the ideal time for Kazakhstan. Transmission times to date have been too oriented towards Moscow.

To make programmes more interesting, one has to know what the listeners want to hear. *Deutsche Welle* and the European service of *Deutschlandfunk* have various methods of finding out their listeners' wishes.

What for example would young listeners in Africa like to hear, apart from news? Music? If so, what kind?

Or language courses. The Cologne stations are of course best informed about the wishes of listeners who write to them. Some letters even come from East Europe. The Polish section of the *Deutschlandfunk* gets 10,000 letters a year not counting 6,000 answers to its quiz. The Hungarian section gets 2,000 letters, some from the Hungarian population of Rumania. Hardly any letters come from Czechoslovakia, where writing letters to western radio stations would be too dangerous.

The letters are an indicator of the climate in the countries concerned and the popularity of the Cologne stations. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the lighter fare offered by Radio Luxembourg and Austrian Radio is stiff competition for the *Deutschlandfunk*. It has an easier time in Poland, though here, too, they prefer listening to Radio Free Europe from Munich. But about 15 per cent of the Poles who listen to foreign broadcasts also tune in to the *Deutschlandfunk*.

Reliable figures on numbers of listeners are now easier to obtain because scientific research in this field has made a lot of progress since the mid-seventies.

Up to then, planners only had estimates to go on and the various sections always upped estimates so they they would get a larger share of the budget. Since 1974, American analyses using computers have provided increasingly reliable figures.

Thousands of travellers in and visitors from socialist countries are questioned about their listening habits; the computer then eliminates errors arising from over-representation of intellectuals and city-dwellers. These estimates show that *Deutsche Welle* can reckon with about 8.9m listeners in the Soviet Union. The BBC has 9.9m listeners, but its air-time is twice as long. *Deutsche Welle* knows also that 30 per cent of its listeners are women and 72 per cent are the Ukraine. These are American, not German, figures.

Western radio services have also been cooperating more closely in monitoring broadcasts in recent years. The more critical the world situation is, the more important it is to tune in to news and commentaries in reception areas, so that western stations can close information gaps, correct false statements and ward off propaganda attacks.

The more effectively it can do this, the greater the interest in its broadcasts to these areas. The Bonn Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Chancellor's Office also benefit from these monitoring services.

The worsening of the world situation has led to the foreign language transmissions being brought closer to the Bonn government's policies. Director Ahlers wants them to stick as closely as possible to Bonn policies. But he also reminds us: "I am a man of the Grand Coalition."

Ernst-Otto Maetzke

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 May 1980)

Continued from page 4

only the administrator of all these interests vis-a-vis other states. The fact that they have taken a wrong direction, that they serve ambition, private goals and the vanity of those in government is of no interest here.

"For it is never the art of warfare that must be regarded as preceptor; and we can in this context see politics only as representative of society as a whole."

Of middle-class background, Clausewitz entered the Prussian Army in 1792 and was admitted to the War College in Berlin in 1801.

He studied under Gerhard von Scharnhorst and became an aide to Prince August. He served with both the Russian and the Prussian armies in the Napoleonic wars.

In 1818 he was made a general and administrative head of the War College. In his 12 years at the War College he wrote, among other works, his famous *On War*.

Wilhelm von Schramm

(Kieler Nachrichten, 29 May 1980)

Wilhelm von Schramm, is generally recognised as one of Germany's foremost Clausewitz scholars.

Network given reprieve by court ruling

The North German Radio and Television network (NDR) will not now be dissolved at the end of the year.

This follows a ruling by the Supreme Administrative Court in Berlin.

The ruling means that, for the next few years at least, Lower Saxony will remain together with Hamburg in the network.

Both Schleswig-Holstein and Lower Saxony have CDU governments while Hamburg is governed by the SPD. This point is at the crux of the affair, which has been raging for a year.

The court said that Lower Saxony could not quit the NDR, because its notice was not in order.

Schleswig-Holstein's was, but it will have little choice but to stay in, since alone it would not have the finds to finance a new network.

The litigation on the NDR is now over. This will certainly please the 3,500 NDR staff who were worried about their jobs. Listeners and TV viewers also have some cause for satisfaction because in the end they would have had to pay for the expensive dissolution of the NDR.

The politicians on the other hand have suffered a severe defeat — and not even the Social Democrats can talk of a victory. The judges could not, and did not wish to, discuss the political problems of the dispute. These remain unsolved.

A look at the history of the dispute shows this. The immediate cause of Stoltenberg, Schleswig-Holstein's Prime Minister, giving notice was NDR's reporting on the demonstrations at Brokdorf nuclear power station.

Stoltenberg, and the entire CDU, said it was too left-wing. Others reasons for pulling out were the station's debts totalling DM140m and inadequate coverage of Schleswig-Holstein news.

Lower Saxony Prime Minister Albrecht added a further demand, which Stoltenberg accepted reluctantly, to the list of grievances: he called for the introduction of private, commercial TV and radio stations.

The fierceness with which the controversy about commercial TV and radio was fought out at the cost of the NDR gives some indications of the crux of the matter.

There are good arguments for and against increasing the range of programmes by allowing commercial stations. But instead of discussing the pros and cons calmly, the opposing parties became involved in a kind of war of religion.

Or does anyone really believe that the CDU is only concerned with the freedom of opinion and information and the SPD only concerned with preserving the public corporation form for the benefit of the citizens as a whole?

There are better grounds for believing that the SPD fears commercial radio might be hostile to it and the CDU hopes it would benefit. This at any rate would account for the style in which the parties have conducted the debate, not only in the case of the NDR.

They regard the media as their mouthpieces and only complain about lack of objectivity when they think they habe been victins. The supervisory committees, which according to the law are meant to represent all social forces, have been transformed by the parties into instruments in the political dispute.

The NDR was without a director for months, because the four representatives of the CDU and the SPD on the NDR council could not agree on one.

And this is just one of the absurd problems which the judges' ruling has failed to solve.

The only thing that can solve it is a massive protest by the general public in which it makes clear to the parties what TV and radio in this country are, according to the spirit of the constitution: bodies which serve not the parties but the people, bodies which, if necessary, should be controlled by the people, not the parties.

Hans Werner Keltenbach

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 May 1980)

■ BUSINESS

Big three of the chemical industry keep at the head of the pack

The big three of the German chemical industry — and successors to I.G. Farben — have had a good year.

BASF, Bayer and Hoechst all show considerable growth, notwithstanding the fact that the extent has been inflated by rising oil prices and restocking.

The three also take it in turn to top the world list in chemicals.

At present BASF is tops with sales of DM28bn (23), followed by Hoechst with DM27bn (24) and Bayer with DM26bn (23).

In fact, these giants seem a little bit too big for a small country like the Federal Republic of Germany. With their payroll of 290,000 in Germany alone (478,000 world-wide), they employed 53 per cent of all workers in that branch of industry in 1979.

Their domestic sales of DM30bn also account for half the total chemicals sales in Germany; i.e. DM64bn. But domestic sales are only about one-third of global sales worth DM81bn. So much for size.

The sales figures alone show that it was anything but a poor year for this branch of industry — even taking into account that the growth rates have been inflated by rising oil prices.

But there has been a considerable growth even disregarding the price increases and basing it on quantity alone. Some of this growth was due to restocking.

It would seem reasonable that the three giants in this branch of industry should be comparable. But the very fact that their product lines differ (evil tongues even speak of their having neatly divided up the market) makes a comparison difficult. Moreover, there is also a difference in the way they prepare their balance sheets.

In this respect, BASF is a complete outsider because its balance sheet is drawn up in accordance with the regulations of the US Securities Exchange Commission.

However all three have profited handsomely, ranging from 7 to 8 per cent for Hoechst up to 15 per cent for BASF, which took advantage of its wide range of oil-based products.

As a result of these excellent sales figures, production capacities were used beyond the critical point which is at a higher level in this particularly capital-intensive branch of industry.

The industry's spokesmen deny that they have profited from higher prices, saying that profits were swallowed up by higher raw materials costs.

The improved performances are best demonstrated by the gross cash flow in global deals.

Here, BASF topped the list with a plus of 48 per cent, rising to DM4bn. Next in line was Hoechst with a plus of 26 per cent and a rise to 3.7bn, followed by Bayer with a plus of 12 per cent up to DM3.5bn.

As far back as 1978 Bayer had already taken the lead in profits, so that a certain basis effect has to be taken into account when looking at its present performance.

The ratio between cash flow and sales is once more very close, ranging between 13.5 per cent (Bayer, Hoechst) and 15.5 per cent (BASF).

But Bayer has been plagued by the losses of its subsidiary, Agfa (DM227m).

As a result, profits dropped by 7 per



cent to DM435m, the net profit on sales being 1.7 per cent (2.0).

The other two were better off. BASF (the group as a whole) made DM636m after taxes (48 per cent more than in 1978). Profits on sales rose to 2.4 per cent (2.0).

Hoechst showed an annual surplus of DM650m (up 56 per cent); and profits on sales were a healthy 2.4 per cent (1.7).

Taking annual surpluses as a yardstick, Bayer was most kind to its stockholders, paying dividends of DM7 per share (DM6), which accounted for 69 per cent of profits. BASF paid DM8 per share (DM6), which is about 50 per cent of profits, while Hoechst paid DM7 (DM6), amounting to only 40 per cent of profits.

But Hoechst had to make up for lost time, having paid reasonable dividends in the previous poorer years.

The Hoechst balance sheet shows signs of improvement. The proportion of the company's own investment capital has risen from 58 to 63 per cent and the ratio of indebtedness to the gross cash flow has dropped to 2.3 (2.8). Seen in this light, Hoechst is better off than Bayer, where the proportion of its own capital is 58 per cent and the indebtedness ratio 3.2.

But the 77 per cent proportion of BASF is matchless as is its indebtedness ratio of 1.1.

Bayer is bound to need fresh capital sooner or later, especially if it wants to maintain the present rate of investment. With its DM2.2bn (1.7) capital investment, Bayer tops the list, especially considering that this is 8.6 per cent of sales.

Bayer intends to maintain this high rate of investment in 1980 (DM2.3bn has been earmarked for this.

Neither BASF (DM1.8bn or 7 per cent of sales) nor Hoechst (DM1.6bn or 6 per cent of sales) can match this.

The growing importance attributed to environmental protection spending is particularly conspicuous. Here Hoechst tops the list with DM800m (3 per cent of global sales). This is also three times the amount of dividends paid to shareholders.

Next in line on this score are Bayer (DMM737m or 2.5 times the dividend) and BASF (DM719m or 2.3 times the dividend).

The rate of investment testifies to the growth optimism. The growth rate of 20 per cent for the first quarter of this year seems to justify the optimism.

Still, in the long run everything will depend on the oil supply. At present, oil has only had an effect on profits but should there be supply bottlenecks in the future the situation for a branch of industry that is 75 per cent dependent on oil could become precarious.

Joachim Weber

(Die Welt, 27 May 1980)

Swiss in the market for new tank

Switzerland is still officially undecided whether to buy a German or an American tank for its armed forces.

It is in the market for 450 vehicles, either the German Leopard II or the American XM 1.

Also in the official melting pot is whether the tanks will be bought off the peg or built under licence.

However it is common knowledge that the decision will be for the Leopard and for building under licence.

But this decision is not due to be made officially until 1982.

The manufacturers of the Leopard, Krauss-Maffei, are going along with the Swiss in the meantime in the hope of a better starting position in the licencing negotiations.

For the purposes of the exercise they also admit that the XM 1 is a formidable competitor.

The whole tank affair developed last year when the Swiss dropped ideas of building their own tank following poor design performances.

Now they have been behaving somewhat curiously. They have appointed a company to act as coordinator if it is decided to build under licence. This company is also to submit tenders for both models before the Ministry of Defence officially makes up its mind on which one.

In fact, the Swiss did not even clarify whether the Americans are prepared to go along with a licence deal or whether they insist on an outright purchase.

But, according to Hugo Wermelinger of the Swiss Information Service for Armaments in Berne, there is nothing unusual in nominating a company before completion of the evaluation phase.

Still, the makers of the Leopard are not happy. They could still come to terms with production under licence under the supervision of a Swiss company even though it seems pretty obvious that making 450 units under licence in a Swiss factory would be much more expensive than buying the vehicles from a company which already has orders for 2,245 units.

But what really irks the people in Munich is that under the Swiss procedure they would have no possibility of guarding their interests should the tank be built under licence.

The Munich manufacturers acted instantly and sent a telex to Switzerland saying that they were in "no position to provide the necessary know-how and that all they could let the Swiss have was the production blueprint."

But the Swiss took this to be a tactical manoeuvre and promptly appointed Contraves, a subsidiary of the Zurich Örlikon-Bührle concern, as the general contractor.

Contraves chief executive Claus A. Bon: "Perhaps the Germans are simply too sure of themselves and are only trying to prevent the manufacture un... licence and sell off the peg. But the... be surprised at the strength of th... competitor, the XM-1."

Zurich's Mayor, Sigmund Widmer, MP and member of the prepar... committee for the tank deal, termed the whole thing an attempt at blackmail by the Germans.

The German Krauss-Maffee compa... is no longer as unyielding as before... now says that they had not said defini...ly no to the Swiss. According to the company spokesman, the telex of... March was only meant to express con...cern over the deal.

Berne has meanwhile reached a deci...sion which will have to be respected by all who want to be part of the deal.

Should the Leopard II, as seems to be in the cards, actually be built under licence under Contraves supervision the two firms would be switching roles to a certain degree.

When Germany opted to build the Contraves-developed Gepard II under licence, Contraves applied for the job of general contractor. But at that... Germany decided on Krauss-Maffei.

Things were different then, however, because Contraves was in a position to guard its interests concerning construction under licence until the very end of the decision-making proces...

The Munich company cannot do... in Switzerland now and this seems to be where the shoe pinches.

Alexander M...

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 24 May 19...)

Good year for tradesmen

Sales and employment in the Ge... trades reached a record in 197..., according to Paul Schnitker, preside... the Central Association of Germa... des (ZDH), prospects for this ye... also good. At least until the autum... order books are likely to remain f... capacity.

On presenting the annual rep... his Association, Herr Schnitker sai... the number of firms in the trad... gone down by 0.5 per cent to ... But he considered it possible th... number of firms will rise in 1980.

Herr Schnitker: "We need i... investments, not only in machin... also in new firms."

The trades achieved sales last ye... DM352bn. This was a growth o... last year of 9.5 per cent nominally... per cent in real terms.

The trades have thus cemented t... position as the second strongest b... of business after industry.

Growth was hampered by the shor... of skilled staff and reliable semi-sk... personnel.

According to the annual report, th... are 200,000 vacant jobs in the trades... though the number of employed in t... branch of business rose by 61,000... 4,166,000 last year.

This figure is only slightly below t... record employment year 1966.

The trades, Herr Schnitker said, h... thus greatly helped alleviate unemp... ment. More than 300,000 addit... workers have been employed since 1... Schnitker concluded that *small and...* *dium-sized firms are the backbone* ... the national economy.

The number of apprenticeships ro... by by 10 per cent to 676,600. This even tops the record year 1965.

Heinz Murmann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 May 19...)

■ MANAGEMENT

Executive personnel agencies operate in twilight zone

Germany's personnel consultants are ... veritable headhunters. They stalk ...eir prey, going to the very edge of ...gality.

The people who act for them are ...ostly anonymous.

The majority of them are loners, poa...ching on territory reserved for the Federal Labour Office, for any employ...ment broking in this country is a go...vernment domain.

Personal consultants play an ever more important role in the merry-go-...und of top executive jobs.

The monthly *Capital* even goes so far ... to claim that the market for executive ...ff would collapse without the consul...tants.

They conduct some 80,000 interviews a year and collect 15 per cent of the ...reed-upon annual salary. Small won...der, then, that this lucrative business at...tracts more and more people out to ...ake a quick profit, as a spokesman of ... National Federation of German En...trepreneurs (BDU) puts it. All they need ... a desk, a card index and a telephone.

Although most professions in Germa...ny are governed by strict training regula...tions, there is nothing that would regulate this post-war profession which has an ...ual attraction for psychologists, tough businessmen and former executives as it does for adventurers and charlatans — as personnel counsellor Carl Heinz Lie...brecht, of Frankfurt, puts it.

Attemps by the BDU to regulate the *business* by declaring it an officially recognised profession have been unsuccessful so far. Only 30 of the estimated 500 to 600 personnel counsellors in this country have tried to join the BDU by proving a minimum three-year experi...ence in this field.

"There is a vast grey market with new ...mes appearing and old ones disappea...ring," says BDU member Dr Dieter Fri...se of the Neumann Management Con...sultancy Company in Müllheim.

Professor of Business Administration ... Mannheim University, Dr Eduard Gaugler, has now tried to shed some ...ght on the workings of these firms in ... study entitled "The Practice of Personnel Counselling".

The study is based on polling through questionnaires which was done in cooperation with the Research Office for Business Administration and Social Practice.

It turned out that only a small percentage of personnel counsellors concentrate their activities on a specific field and can therefore be termed specialists.

Most range far afield and very few are interested in improving their performance through cooperation with foreign consultancy firms. They prefer to act on their own or in very small teams.

Only 16.6 per cent were specialised in particular branches of industry; 7.2 per cent specialised in particular regions and 8.5 per cent were specialists for a specific level of management.

The polling encompassed 530 consultancy firms in Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

The questions concerned the services provided, special search methods, the rate of success and costs.

The questionnaires were sent to a wide variety of representatives of this heterogeneous branch of business: personnel counselling agencies in the narrow sense, management consultants with a personnel counselling department, advertising agencies, notaries, auditors and tax consultants (who as a sideline engage in the lucrative business of finding the right man for the right job).

But only 223 of the 530 firms that received the questionnaires answered them. As a result, one of the leaders of the business, the Munich personnel counsellor Hanns Dieter Neuhaus, was sceptical as to whether the results are really a representative cross section.

The overworked stars of the business did not take the time to fill out the long questionnaires.

Strictly speaking, only 75 management consultants with a personnel counselling department, 75 specialised personnel counsellors and an equal number of advertising agencies which occasionally provide such counselling services took the trouble to meticulously fill in the questionnaires.

Most of these firms are either one-man enterprises or work with a very small team. Their principle is that the boss knows best and that too many cooks spoil the broth.

The successes listed by the respondents confirm the old experience that a small number of counsellors who have made a name for themselves take the biggest slice of the cake while newcomers and occasional counsellors have to share what remains.

Professor Gaugler: "A relatively large number of companies broked a rather small number of jobs in 1976 and 1977. To put it in exact figures: only 20 per cent reported more than 200 filled vacancies a year. Another 40 per cent said that they filled a maximum of 25 vacancies a year."

Only one-third of the firms offer a full range of services, i.e. not only the search, selection and placement of applicants but also training programmes and assistance to the employer in introducing new personnel policies.

Another third (primarily advertising agencies) restrict themselves to selective assistance in filling vacancies.

Evidently, the personnel departments of many companies are not interested in any extensive involvement by consultants.

According to Professor Gaugler, these companies find such a wide range of services undesirable.

There is a wide gap between supply and demand. Thus, for instance, 83 per cent of personnel counsellors offer to analyse vacant positions while only 16.5 per cent of the potential employers avail themselves of the service. And 68 per cent of the counsellors offer assistance in drafting the contract with the new employee while only 6 per cent of the employers are prepared to use this service.

Supply and demand only match each other where selective searches are concerned, i.e. the drafting of job advertisements and the preliminary selection of applicants.

Advertising in trade journals and dailies is generally considered most productive though it is costly.

Forty per cent of the respondents admit to approaching potential applicants directly in their executive search and head hunting.

Head hunting is a method freely admitted by the Frankfurt consultant Dr. Maximillian Schubart and his Zurich counterpart Dr Egon Zehnder.

This method makes use of an extensive card index with the names and career histories of executives though it largely depends on memory and personal contact.

It is here that the head hunters run afoul of legislation governing employment agencies. Under the terms of this legislation, personnel counsellors may not maintain files of applicants, they may not keep supporting material and may only work for potential employers and not for executive staff seeking work.

According to Hermann Henke, head of the legal department of the Federal Labour Office, many a personnel counsellor operates on the outer edge of legality or even beyond it.

But since it is difficult to come up with incriminating evidence, very few of these operators are brought to court and fined — and even then the maximum fine is only DM30,000.

The Federal Labour Office has now made another attempt to curb the work of the counsellors. Since April 1 it has increased the number of its own specialised department dealing with executive jobs from 8 to 19. Efforts to place applicants on the top managerial level will be stepped up, and, of course, these services are free of charge. But it is doubtful whether potential employers will find the services offered by the Federal Labour Office particularly attractive.

Large companies happy to foot the bill

The booming consultancy business proves the opposite. Large companies anxious to fill executive positions are quite happy to pay handsomely.

According to Professor Gaugler's study, the average cost of filling a position in the top echelon is between DM21,000 and DM50,000; on the next lower level the cost is between DM6,000 and DM30,000 and below that DM5,500 to DM10,000.

But even Professor Gaugler admits that his polling results are somewhat distorted. The cost question remained unanswered in most questionnaires.

Still, the old established Munich counselling firm Roland Berger & Partners estimates the cost for a position at the top level at DM10,000 to DM80,000, for the next lower level at DM10,000 to DM30,000 and for department heads at DM8,000 to DM10,000. The daily fee ranges between DM1,200 and DM2,000.

Brigitte Zander

(Die Zeit, 23 May 1980)

Continued from page 5

...vidual superman, in both instances the people become subject to *gleichschaltung*.

Neither ideology cares about the tolerant individual capable of learning.

Spengler's "victory of the blood" is not as far removed from a classless society as a natural state as many people might think.

Indeed, Spengler was (and still is?) the Marx of the conservatives. In fact, he wrote as brilliantly as Marx did — a cha...racteristic which he unfortunately does not share with the more objective phi...losophers of history.

It seems that language needs the pa...thos of polemic and prophetic arrogance ... it is to capture attention.

Mathias Schreiber

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 29 May 1980)

Opposition bounces back

Continued from page 3

resolution to break away from the CDU underlined this.

The more the leadership of the two parties drift away from one another, the more obstinately the rank and file cling to the idea of uniting the parties and thus cutting the Gordian knot of rivalry and even opposition between them.

The CDU of Westphalia-Lippe and the Rhineland Palatinate last year proposed that a joint meeting of CDU and CSU delegates should nominate the Shadow Chancellor and decide on the party programme in future.

It was a Rhineland Palatinate proposal which formally smoothed the way for this planned joint meeting, but there had already been consultations and agreement on this between the two party executives.

What, one wonders, made the CSU leadership give the go-ahead? The key is the nomination of Strauss as Shadow Chancellor, which has radically changed the situation. Now that a CSU man is leader, nothing in the CDU/CSU union is impossible.

Regional defeats in elections are no longer the occasion for public inquisitions, squabbling is considered to be a sign of lack of solidarity. No taboo must be allowed to stand in the way of the candidate, not even a joint party conference if it has to be.

However the hopes of the CDU leaders that the joint meeting in Mannheim will create a fait accompli for the future are probably vain. Mannheim will not be about integration. Not even the presentation of the election team will take place there, thanks to the Catholics' Conference. There will be 1,700 delegates taking part, which rules out any kind of joint CDU/CSU resolution of any import.

The CSU is taking precautions. The old squabbles have been buried but they can be exhumed if and when necessary.

Günter Müchler

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 30 May 1980)

THE ENVIRONMENT

Where lead in the blood is part of living

Schoolboys in Oker, the Harz mountain village near Goslar, know the level of lead in their blood off by heart.

The reason is that they live near a lead mine and lead pollution has developed into a major issue.

The EEC-approved level of lead in the blood is 35 micrograms per 100 millilitres of blood for adults and 30 for children.

And villagers in this Lower Saxony community have uncomfortably high counts.

"Twenty-four," says one of the boys; "28," says the next; "38.9," said the third; and "40.6" the fourth.

They trot out their figures like gunshot, the highest scorer sounding particularly pleased with himself, whereupon one of the others says: "My brother has 54!"

Specialists in labour medicine insist on workers with a blood lead count of over 80 being laid off until they are down to 50.

Hermann Schnipkoweit, Lower Saxony's hard-pressed Welfare Minister, tends to refer to those higher figures when he is cornered on the Oker lead scandal.

The back gardens of Kielsche Strasse, Oker, face the lead mine's slag heap, as bald as a coot — all attempts to sow grass on the slag heap have proved a failure. Nothing grows in the lead-polluted soil.

Frau Sievers has lived in Kielsche Strasse for the past 18 years with no break in her daunting view of the controversial slag heap.

"Whenever the mountain starts smoking," she says, "my tongue goes all thick and I feel as sick as a parrot."

A health department official took dust samples from her living room and Frau Sievers, like everyone else in Kielsche Strasse, was given 24 litre bottles to fill with tapwater first thing in the morning.

She has telephoned the health department several times since, but so far no-one has told her what the findings were.

The findings of surveys of 320 people have nonetheless found their way to the Welfare Ministry in Hanover.

Twenty adults and eight children were found to have lead counts over the EEC level and are to be advised to see their family doctors. They include a miner with 113 and a child with 49 micrograms of lead per 100 millilitres of blood.

Herr Schnipkoweit was not prepared to say, in a radio interview, whether he felt these figures were alarming. "It is all virgin territory," he said.

He was shortly to convene a hearing in Hanover at which all the experts on lead poisoning and pollution were to air their views on the subject.

Residents have been extremely upset ever since an ecological institute in Freiburg sounded the alarm a few weeks ago. "My husband has already had one heart attack and an embolism of the lung," says Frau Sievers.

He has drawn a disability pension for the past three and a half years on account of his rheumatism and Herr Sievers, a 52-year-old former carpenter, has now been examined by a specialist for lead poisoning.

Frau Sievers has sent their 15-year-old son to the Bonn government's mobile clinic, which has been stationed in Oker since mid-April.

Now the papers are ful of it all, she continues, she recalls that as a child her boy often used to suffer from diarrhoea and constipation in swift succession.

He often had headaches too, and these all are symptoms of lead pollution, newspaper reports emphasise. But that was four or five years ago, when no-one in Oker had any idea what was going on.

Yet the authorities have been aware of the lead pollution for more than 20 years, according to a brochure compiled by Lower Saxon ecologists.

As long ago as in 1955 the Federal Health Office was requested to report on industrial pollution of the environment in the Oker and Harlingerode areas.

Chief attention was paid to the vicinity of the lead and copper mine and the zinc oxide works in Oker and the zinc foundry in Harlingerode.

They were all divisions of Preussag, a power utility and conglomerate owned mainly by the government.

The 1955 report stated that 130kg of dust an hour were emitted by the 13 chimneys checked. This was a level equivalent to that of a small town, but what mattered was that the dust consisted of lead, zinc and arsenic compounds.

Even in small doses all three are dangerous to man and animals, and as for the Oker, a babbling brook at its source not far away in the mountains but a dull grey by the time it passes through the village, thus is what the report had to say:

"A further consequence of mining and foundry work is the higher count of heavy metal in the soil of the Oker valley. It is washed down into the valley by floods.

"The level of pollution is so high that apart from varieties of lady's cushion no other trees or bushes grow or flourish.

"It is all industrial wasteland that cannot even be used as sheep pasture because the pollution level is so high."

Twenty years later the Freiburg ecology institute says soil in the vicinity of the foundry contains 23,500 per cent more lead and 2 million per cent more cadmium than the official ceiling.

These figures are official, having been taken from the Welfare Ministry's statistics, and the Federal Health Office advised against new buildings in the area back in 1959.

So far 91 families have applied for resettlement grants from the DM10m fund set up by the Welfare Ministry. Seventy-five live in rented apartments, 16 in homes of their own.

Home-owners have yet to learn how they are to be compensated for leaving an otherwise perfectly good property in the danger area.

All they have so far been offered is an interest-free grant to be repaid at a rate of one per cent per annum. "That," says Frau Sievers, "is no good."

She and her family live in a house built in 1879, with an extension dating back to 1914. "My husband says here we are and here we stay," she explains.

Josef Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21 May 1980)

Clean-exhaust device faces the cynics

A Frankfurt company has deve[loped a] device aimed at reducing th[e output] of toxic substances in car exhaust.

American car manufacturers h[ave wel]comed the development, but litt[le head]way is apparently being made in [...]

Bonn Interior Minister Gerhart [...] whose portfolio includes the [environ]ment, is on record as saying th[at the] Federal government's objective is [to re]duce the output of toxic subst[ances by] motor vehicles.

This statement of intent ha[s been] welcomed publicly, but motor m[anufac]turers have shown no inc[lination] towards practical moves as a resul[t].

Carmakers have been reluctant [...] anything in Germany, while ma[nufactu]rers in other EEC countries hav[e shown] even less enthusiasm about deto[xifying] car exhaust fumes.

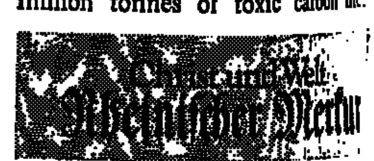
Bonn has proposed to other me[mbers] of the Common Market a 50-pe[r-cent] cut in car exhaust toxin ceilings i[n the] European Community from 198[2], [but] the suggestion has fallen on deaf ears.

Starting in 1982 the Bonn g[overn]ment would still like to persuade [the] Nine to make a start with a 20-per[-cent] cut, plus a medium-term commit[ment] to further reductions.

Its idea is that agreement should [be] reached on further gradual but per[cept]ible cuts, starting in 1985 at the latest.

If this compromise proposal find[s no] more favour than its predecessors [Bonn] is considering making use of a s[...] provision in the *Treaty of Rome* [...]ing EEC members to go it alone if [...] be in making clean air regulations str[ic]ter.

Every year West Germany pumps [...] million tonnes of toxic carbon mo[no]xide into the atmosphere, and [...] comes from car exhausts.



So the Hesse Environment Mi[nistry] can but be congratulated for the i[nitia]tive it has shown in suggesting that [the] state's official car pool be equipped [with] the device, produced by the Deg[ussa] company.

To date, however, Social Democrat[s in] Wiesbaden, the state capital, have [not] exactly done themselves proud. O[nly] two of Hesse's 7,000 official cars [are] currently fitted out with the clea[n-air] unit from nearby Frankfurt.

There are understandable reasons, [of] course. No less an authority [than the] Motor Manufacturers' Association h[as] claimed that the device, which [would] naturally increase the price of the v[e]hicles slightly, has shortcomings.

The only Degussa units that work e[n]tirely satisfactorily, the association s[ays,] are those with which cars manufactu[red] for export to the United States are [fitted] out.

This, they say, is because motor [fuel] sold in the United States is virtually [un]leaded, as stipulated by government [re]gulations.

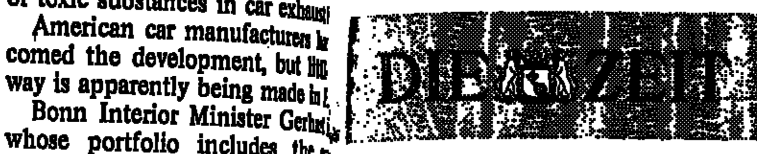
The Degussa device designed for [Eu]ropean petrol is said still to have [draw]backs. Degussa naturally disagree. T[hey] claim the device in its European ve[rsion] has come out of endurance trials [with] flying colours.

There are clearly a variety of p[...]

Continued on page 9

ENERGY

Garbage fuels new pilot power station



A new garbage incineration technique is to be tried out commercially in Aalen, Württemberg.

The system, know as low-temperature pyrolysis, will be used both to obtain heat and to generate electricity.

If this pilot project shows the technique to be both trouble-free and economic, a trash-fired power station twice as big will be built near Aalen to heat and power a 480-bed hospital and a trades college with 4,000 students.

Baden-Württemberg Agriculture and Environment Minister Gerhard Weiser, who wielded a ceremonial spade to turn the first sod on the site of the pilot power station on April 30, had this to say:

"We have lent financial backing to the development of garbage incineration because it promises to be an economic disposal system that will certainly do the environment no harm and could well benefit it."

Kiener Pyrolysis (KPA) is the company behind the experiment. It holds or has applied for, patents in roughly 40 countries. Interest in the Kiener technique is keen, especially in developing countries.

Karl Kiener, 67, has been interested since his student days in the gasification of combustible fuels. He originally aimed at improving the wood-fuelled engine that was a common sight on the roads in wartime and the early post-war years.

In place of scarce oil fuel it burnt wood and converted it into gas, and in the course of research into wood gas and suitable engines Kiener devised the low-temperature pyrolysis principle.

He built his prototypes in a factory that is now supplied with heating and electric power by a garbage incinerator.

Some years ago his technique was examined by specialists from Stuttgart University and they were impressed by results attributable largely to the low operating temperature.

Garbage specialist Professor Oktay Tabasaran forecast, after checking the process for himself, that Kiener's technique would soon undergo large-scale trials. He was to be proved right in his surmise.

Pyrolysis is a process by which chemical compounds are converted or decomposed by means of heat. They are not burnt, merely carbonised under vacuum at low temperature.

All over the industrialised world engineers have been attracted by the idea in their quest for economic and environmentally sound ways of coping with the growing mountains of sewage and trash.

Several pyrolysis pilot projects of various sizes and using various principles are undergoing trials in Hamburg and the Ruhr. By 1982 another will have been built, at a cost of DM25m in Federal and state taxpayers' money, in Günzburg, Bavaria.

Like the others, Kiener's plant heats garbage shredded to the size of a side plate in a rotating drum with the air cut off, but unlike them it relies on lower temperatures than are usual.

Gas and steam are generated, collected and treated in much the same way as they are in a refinery. Other ingredients are carbonised in the 450°C heat, or turned into charcoal.

At the refinery stage the gas is purified and heated, the long hydrocarbon molecules (of plastics, say) being broken down into short-chain compounds reusable as either gas for burning or chemical raw materials.

During cooling volatile oils are also formed that can be used to heat boilers or to power engines. Such condensed water as gathers is pure enough to be channeled straight down the drain.

The gas is used by Kiener in his plant to power a gas engine that converts a third of the energy liberated into electric power.

The remainder either goes into the exhaust fumes or heats water in the cooling system.

The hot water is used to heat the building, whereas the exhaust process heat is used to heat fresh garbage in the incinerator.

So very little energy goes unused. The utilisation coefficient is a bumper 80 per cent, as against 34 per cent at a nuclear power station and 40 per cent at a coal-fired power station.

Admittedly, a water turbine converts 90 per cent of the primary energy input into usable power.

In 1976, or so Herr Kiener estimates, about 72 per cent of the energy input towards power generation went to waste as heat loss.

His pyrolysis power station is designed to end this. It will be built next door to a hospital and a college, so process heat can be fed into their central heating systems without much waste. Process heat that is not used immediately for heating is to be converted into electric power that can be fed to the grid when required.

Neither hospital patients nor college students will be troubled in any way by smoke from the power station. The only difficulty that is at all likely is that they may be disturbed by the noise of garbage trucks.

Kiener's company is a business venture jointly sponsored with Energieversorgung Schwaben, the local power utility.

Energieversorgung Schwaben estimate that the new-style power station will generate 20 million kilowatt-hours of electricity a year during 7,000 hours in operation.

This corresponds to about 7,000 tonnes of heating oil currently costing roughly DM3m, which will be saved, if not in running costs, then certainly in terms of imported oil.

These optimistic forecasts are largely based on experience with the pyrolysis unit at Kiener's own factory. This experimental unit has provided the data for planning the pilot project now under construction.

The prototype will, for the most part, be used in the full-scale power station envisaged.

The prototype will have cost about DM16, towards which both Baden-Württemberg and the Bonn Research Ministry have contributed.

Karl Kiener will probably have invested DM2m of his own in preliminaries, yet he enjoyed the tremendous advantage of manufacturing nearly all the components in his own factory.

All contract work is to be awarded to local firms, but the financing of the proposed power station, which will cost an estimated DM47m, has yet to be finalised.

Energieversorgung Schwaben may possibly decide to step up its commitment.

Unlike conventional garbage incinerators, pyrolysis power stations can burn virtually all flammable material, including sewage sludge, old tyres, plastic waste, oily rags, peat, waste wood and ordinary household refuse.

The only waste product left behind is ash, which amounts to roughly 12 per cent of the original waste's volume and can be dumped on garbage tips without difficulty.

The Kiener low-temperature incinerator power stations is said to be economic for communities of 1,000 people and more, so Stuttgart Environment Minister Weiser reckons pyrolysis is an interesting alternative for smaller administrative districts.

But he is careful not to give rise to exaggerated hopes. Conventional garbage generates too little too irregularly. What is more, in an emergency both the quantity of garbage that accumulates and its heating value are likely to decline.

Carl-Joseph Kutzbach

(Die Zeit, 23 May 1980)

Continued from page 8

lems. The European clean air device is designed for European petrol, which on average contains 0.4 grams of lead per litre. It is also suitable for West German petrol, which has a mandatory lead ceiling of 0.15 grams per litre.

But elsewhere in Europe the lead count in motor fuel can amount to as much as 0.8 grams, while France, Italy and Spain have no official regulations whatever.

What is more, or so motor manufacturers claim, unleaded petrol is just not available in the quantities that would be required if it were to be made mandatory all over Europe.

Last but not least, "car exhaust catalysts may result in an increase in motor fuel consumption."

Manufacturers have this consolation for dedicated ecologists: "By making extra use of electronic components complex combustion processes could be controlled more accurately.

"So low-toxin operation could prove possible without necessarily resorting to catalysts. They will certainly not be needed when the next set of mandatory clean air regulations come into force in October 1982."

Only prototype Degussa devices for use in Europe have so far been supplied to motor manufacturers, so manufacturers cannot yet justify equipping their cars with them as a standard fitting.

In one trial a Degussa device is reported to have been down to 25-per-cent cleansing efficiency after 3,600km in use, yet according to Degussa replacement should not be necessary until after 80,000km of driving with low-lead fuel.

Burkhart Salchow

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 23 May 1980)

Dial a bus to cut down wasted mileage

The dial-a-bus experiment in Friedrichshafen on Lake Constance has proved so successful that it seems to be an alternative to conventional local public transport that cannot go ignored.

Since December 1977 call-buses have been in such smooth and regular use in the home town of the Zeppelin airship that local authority official Dr Wiedemann feels able to say:

"The system has passed muster with flying colours."

The area covered by the dial-a-bus experiment has twice been extended and now comprises 70 squares kilometres (44 square miles) with a population of 32,000 or so.

Each bus's route and frequency is prearranged by computer, while passengers dial their destinations using either a household telephone or a keyboard device at the bus stop.

For season ticket-type regular runs, like the daily run-in to work and back, computers can drop the company's head office a postcard.

There the electronic brain works out in a fraction of a second how best to keep all the passengers happy by not making them wait too long and to keep the company in business by not driving too long a detour.

The resulting combination is flashed to the most conveniently located bus at the time of transmission. Drivers can see on their terminal monitor screens which bus stop to head for next and how many passengers should be there waiting for them.

Passengers can see on their bus-stop visual display unit or are told by phone when they dial the company number which bus will be calling round to collect them in how many minutes. They are also told their estimated time of arrival at their destinations.

In order to ensure optimum mileage a variety of vehicles are on standby. They range from 19-seater small buses to private cars.

The Friedrichshafen experiment, funded by a DM5.7m subsidy from the Bonn Ministry of Research and Technology, was felt by passengers to be most satisfactory.

Two separate polls by market research institutes confirmed that nine out of ten Friedrichshafen public transport-users though the dial-a-bus was a distinct improvement on the previous service.

The number of passengers carried bears out this claim, having increased substantially over the number conveyed by timetable services.

On weekdays up to 30 per cent more passengers were found to use the call-buses. On Saturdays it was up to 80 per cent more and on Sundays up to 150 per cent more.

The dial-a-bus service will never recoup its costs, of course. The ops room and VDUs, both designed by Dornier, the local aircraft manufacturers, are extremely expensive to install.

But running costs are much lower than those of conventional timetable services. After a mere two years of trials it is still early days to jump to a firm conclusion but transport experts are already agreed.

The call-bus, they feel, has a distinct advantage over conventional services in outlying areas where the volume of passenger traffic is limited.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May 1980)

■ LITERATURE

Authors in exile during Third Reich: anthology without loose ends

Ernst Loewy's anthology of literary and political texts by German authors in exile during the Third Reich is as far as I know the most comprehensive and complete of its kind. It contains 224 articles and essays in all, published in Vienna, Prague, Zurich, Paris, Moscow, Amsterdam, New York, Tel Aviv, Mexico City and elsewhere between 1933 and 1945. Most of them appeared in magazines and newspapers which are either inaccessible or only available in expensive reprints today.

The editor, Ernst Loewy, who spent 20 years in exile himself, sees the collection as providing guidance for readers who are not familiar with this literature; this means primarily for readers in West Germany.

In his introduction, Loewy writes that it is important to orientate oneself by the thing itself: "To this end the emphasis in this collection of the literature of German exile is consciously on showing how these German exiles saw themselves."

This is precisely what has been lacking in most research and most similar publications to date, he says.

The difficulties in the way of such a task reside in the nature of emigration itself. Unlike emigration in the past, this was not confined to a small, intellectually homogeneous group. It was a mass movement and took place in an atmosphere of intense nationalism, which flourished not only in Germany. In his introduction Loewy rightly emphasises that German emigration in this period cannot be seen as uniform or easily categorised.

First, it led to a weakening of the anti-fascist front and one expression of this was that the hard-hit workers' parties renewed their old arguments, more bitterly and unfairly than ever before.

Then the reasons why people left Germany differed greatly. Unlike those who left Germany for political or philosophical reasons, the Jews, comprising the majority of emigrés, had no choice.

It was either exile or liquidation (though in 1938, the physical annihilation of the Jews was not imaginable, and liquidation meant the destruction of their economic existence.)

Many of the Jewish refugees, however, (businessmen, small skopkeepers, doctors) were apolitical and anxious to conform in the countries which gave them asylum. Conformity was their only chance of reestablishing themselves professionally.

Against this group of apolitical exiles there was a minority of exiled journalists and writers who, as communists, socialists, liberals and democrats, left Germany for political reasons. They fled or left the country indefinitely, in some cases because they feared for their lives, in others because they had decided that they could not or did not want to write in a Germany ruled by Hitler.

One must add here that this group too was far from uniform, as the majority thought that the brown terror would soon be brought to an end.

When Klaus Mann published the first number of his magazine *Die Sammlung* in September 1933, some exiled authors objected to his programmatic introduction and particularly to this passage:



"The magazine will be devoted to literature: i.e. that high matter which affects not only one nation but all nations of the earth. However, some nations have gone so far astray as to decry their best writers, to be ashamed of them and no longer to tolerate them in the country.

"In such countries literature is raped; and to avoid being raped, it flees to other countries. This is the present situation of true and authentic German literature, that literature which cannot keep silent in face of the humiliation of its people and the appalling things that are happening to it."

On the other hand it must be stressed that none of these authors who left Germany after Hitler's seizure of power regarded their writing as having a purely artistic function; all of them had in the Weimar Republic either been clearly political or at least subscribed to the view that literature has a humanising and social function.

This is why the Nazis decried them as armchair bolshevists and effete literati, warning that they would soon put a stop to their work in the New Reich. For the sake of completeness, though, it must be mentioned that even before the Nazis came to power there had been a change in trend which found literary expression, for example, in the revival of "nature poetry" and a concept of literature as "apolitical" and "dedicated to eternal values."

Loewy's anthology is divided into three parts. Part I is entitled *Facing Germany*, part II *Misery and Grandeur of Exile*, and part III *Perspectives*. This is a clear and contentually convincing structure.

The first part contains essays, poems, short stories, extracts from novels about the death of the Weimar Republic and the rise and fall of the Third Reich. The titles of the subsections here give a good idea of the content: *The Suicide of the Republic, the Establishment of the Total State, The Thousand Year Reich, The Abuse of the Word, Behind Barbed Wire, This War, The Twilight of the Gods*. Part II deals with exile. The main aim is to describe the course of the authors' exile, the conditions in which they lived, and the development of their political consciousness as evidenced in their writings.

The third part contains writings which deal not so much with the writers' immediate circumstances as with reflections on their own existence in connection with Germany's past and future.

The range of writings in this section is very wide indeed, as are the subjects and problems dealt with. It includes, to mention only a few examples, Ernst Bloch's essay on *The Art of Inherit...*, Leopold Schwarzschild's *Reckoning w... Stalin* and Brecht's *To those who c... after us*.

The difficulties referred to in th... works result from the fact that th... writers could not agree on the kin... Germany they wanted to see after ... end of the Hitler era.

There is no doubt at all that this ... lection is a valuable contribution to ... history of literary exile. An impre... achievement as far as the gathering ... arrangement of the material is conc... ed.

The only criticism is that Loewy ... many others, over-emphasises ... Germany's deficit in the recepti... exile literature compared with the G...

In fact there have been conside... efforts in this country to make up ... lost ground here; quite apart from ... fact that East Berlin's cultural aim ... not exclusively, indeed not even m... literary. (Can one overlook the fact ... a writer such as Arnold Zweig ... had a representative function in ... GDR and that Anna Seghers paid ... her privileges with loyalty to the p... line and bad books?)

Another fault of this collection is ... it makes no mention whatever of ... called conservative authors such as ... dolf Borchardt and Karl Wolfskehl, ... though they were also exiles.

However these are only slight obj... tions which detract little from the qu... ity of the work as a whole.

Franz Schonauer

(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 May 1...)

Ernst Loewy: Exil. Literarische ... politische Texte aus dem Deutschen ... 1933-1945. Edited by Ernst Loewy ... the assistance of Birgit Grimm, H... Nagel and Felix Schneider. J. E. Metzle... sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Stuttgart. 1280 pp. DM68.

Award for the 'spokesman of revolution'

Ernesto Cardenal, priest, poet, revolutionary and now Minister of Culture in Nicaragua, has been awarded the 1980 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade.

Cardenal, without doubt the best-known spokesman of the Nicaraguan revolution, receives visitors in the country residence of former dictator Somoza. The fine building, shaded by gigantic trees, is a pleasant oasis in the tropical heat of Managua. It is now the headquarters of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Culture.

Cardenal says: "Dictator Somoza would never have dreamt that his country residence might one day serve the culture of this country."

He says that the Peace Prize has not been awarded to him, that he does not deserve it.

"It is an award and an honour for Nicaragua, for our people and our revolution: and this is the only reason why I am accepting the prize. The money will go to the revolution."

Slowly he lifts his head, his eyelids open slowly, the big eyes of the priest, poet and minister look up at the blue sky of Managua. "Let the revolution do what it thinks fit with the money."

Cardenal confirmed that he would come to Frankfurt to receive the prize.

"For me being a priest, a poet and a revolutionary are one. I see myself mainly as a revolutionary: less as a poet now, because I have less time to write. I have sacrificed my poetry, so that others can paint, sing, act, make music and films. All this is more important than my poetry. By giving up my poetry, I realise myself as a poet. I have stopped writing poetry so that others can do so, and they can and do. By bringing culture to the people, I am accomplishing a priestly and a Christian task.

"As a revolutionary, I am fulfilling the task the revolution has entrusted me with. I am here out of obedience to the revolution, and that is also obedience towards God, towards God's will.

"I am now minister, poet, priest and revolutionary, but it is all the same: I am a revolutionary and a Christian, which amounts to the same thing.

"I work day and night in the ministry." He talks with genuine enthusiasm of a rebirth of music, writing, film, dancing, folklore and even of sport, which also comes under the Ministry of Culture. He talks of houses of culture which have been spontaneously set up in the villages.

"There is a great hunger for reading in Nicaragua today. All young people are learning the main techniques of writing poetry: there are poetry workshops in mountain villages, in the slums of Managua, in the army and the factories. The ministry of culture has brought culture to the people. The people are beginning to produce culture rather than consuming it."

There has been much speculation in recent weeks about relations between the Nicaraguan Catholic Church and the Sandinist revolution. But there has been no real conflict up to now. Not even th... atheistic marxist-leninists in the San... nist leadership wish to advocate athei... The people are very religious.

Ernesto Cardenal sees the relations between church and revolution as ... simple. "In Nicaragua, Christianity ... revolution are one and the same th... one can make no distinction here b... tween Christianity and revolution. A... the Christians in Nicaragua have ta... part in our revolution, the whole peo...

"Ninety per cent of the people of Ni... caragua are Catholic, the other ten p... cent are Protestant. Our revolution is ... revolution of the people, and as ... people is a Christian, Catholic and ... testant people, our revolution is a Ch... tian revolution."

It is no coincidence that the San... movement made him, a priest, Min... of Culture — "an ideological ... responsible for revolutionary ... da." He says: "A non-Christian ... also have got the job."

The Foreign Minister and the ... of the literacy programme are ... priests, Jesuits. The literacy progr... teaches not only reading and writing ... shapes political consciousness. Educ... Minister Carlos Tünnermann, in ch... of the education of the nation's ... people, is a practising Catholic and ... to mass every Sunday.

Many years ago Ernesto Card... wrote poems of high literary merit ... formal originality. His Psalms have ... a great influence, not only on L... American literature.

Cardenal's later work is for the ... part political poetry written for the ...

Continued on page 11

Continued from page 10

...cause, and contains much dross. Cardenal has, as he says himself, "sacrificed his poetry to the revolution." He believes that winning the sympathy of the world for the struggle against Somoza is more important than his poetry. This is certainly legitimate and was an important task.

The film cameras of the world flocked around him. Perhaps this is what led him to adopt his insufferable pose and love of the limelight (a recent German TV film on Nicaragua consists largely of ...ous close-ups of Cardenal's face.)

The man who will receive this year's Peace Prize is certainly not one of the many great poets in Latin America.

Walter Haubrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 May 1980)

■ THE THEATRE

Berlin festival struggles to find the right formula

Despite changes in criteria for selecting productions, the Berlin Theatre Festival still has not found the right formula.

Last year the 10-man jury was heavily criticised for its selections.

This year, entire production staff of chosen works including actors and stage set designers were invited to take part.

In addition, the jurors turned their attention to the provinces instead of concentrating entirely on the main theatre centres.

Despite all this, the programme of the three-week festival was a mixture of the good, the bad and the indifferent.

There were excellent productions, such as Ernst Jandl's *Aus Der Fremde*, a "speaking opera", at the Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer. It was immensely enjoyable, giving insights into the seriousness, torment and tragedy of a writer's life, the despair, almost incomprehensible to the outsider, of the writer faced with a sheet of white paper and struggling to find words and ideas.

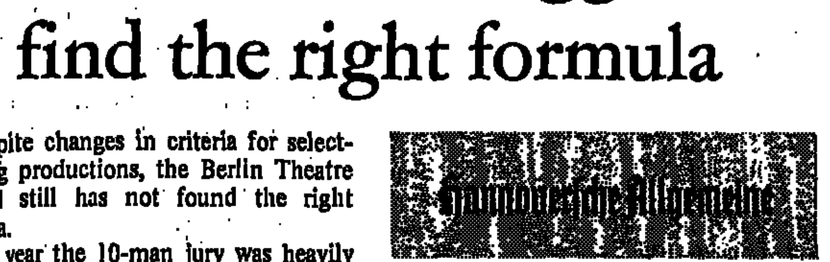
Ellen Hammer directed the play cautiously, wittily and perceptively. Peter Fitz gave a superb three-hour solo performance.

This year's festival also widened theatrical horizons. David Mouchtar-Samorai, born in Iraq, living in Israel and working mainly in Great Britain and West Germany, presented his Heidelberg version of Gogol's *The Government Inspector*, to which he gave new satirical dimensions.

The costumes in this comedy on the venality of Russian officialdom under the Czars are historical, but the tone is modern. The set was a kafkaesque labyrinth of stairs, landings, galleries and scaffolding. The dialogues frequently end up in pantomine, and the action, accentuated by elegiac or cynical taped music, is petrified into living images. He presents visions, dreams, fears and illusions which rivet the attention for three and a half hours.

The Mannheim Theatre's performance of Arnolt Bronnen's *Vatermord* was also excellent. The play was long considered unperformable and when staged in 1922 it caused a scandal with its treatment of the father-son relationship interwoven with anarchistic freedom, homosexuality and incest.

Director Jürgen Bosse, with the help



of fine actors such as Hans Falar and Heinz Schubert, manages to find just the right mixture of expressionism and realism and thus to quickly regain control of his audience even in moments of unintended comedy.

Expressionistic works seem to be very in generally at the moment. Bochum Theatre presented *Lieber Georg*, a nightmare collage by Thomas Brasch.

Brasch says that the action on the stage represents what was going on in the mind of the young poet,' Georg Heym, at the beginning of the century.

Yellow peril, the expedition to the South Pole, Sun Yat Sen's revolution, technological progress, the founding of a new religion. Longing for the purifying fire of war — GDR directors Manfred Karge and Matthias Langhoff present all this as an exuberant, feverish, bizarre review, which poses many questions.

Heym drowned while skating on the river Havel and the stage is accordingly a skating rink in this performance. This bizarre set was upstaged, though, by Pina Bausch — in her production, *Arien*, the actors are often up to their ankles in water. This obviously inhibited the movements of the Wuppertal Dance Theatre Actors, caused reflections and underlined the surrealistic aspect of the scene.

The scenes themselves are nothing but loosely connected fragments of the imagination — fables, rituals, party games are enacted for some minutes, merhe into one another, disappear. For the first hour this was fascinating. The second hour was tedious and in the third we were waiting impatiently for the end.

Two other performances also proved tiring, if not tiresome. The Bochum production of Mass für Mass *.Measure for Measure)* was not so much by Shakespeare as by its director, B.K. Tragelehn: aggressive, crude, unappetising, containing striptease scenes and presenting the Duke not as a paternal ruler but as a manipulator of power.

The same goes for the Moers' Theatre's version of *Euripides' Bacchae*. The men in the audience had to watch their activities from little cages, the women from a common perch above. Euripides' great play about human seductibility reduced to a cheap peep-show!

This year again was a "rump" festival, with three of the ten productions invited unable to attend.

These were: the Vienna Burg Theatre's *Sommergäste* (Summer Guests) and the Cologne production of *Kätchen von Heilbronn*. This was all the more regrettable as both productions had been chosen for their theatrical merits.

Also unable to attend, for technical reasons, was the Bochum Schauspielhaus, which was to perform Thomas Bernhard's *Vor Dem Ruhestand*, directed by Claus Peymann.

All in all, it must be said that the hoped-for revival did not take place. Nonetheless, the organisers intend to stick to the same selection criteria.

Theatre director Eckhardt said that further reforms were being considered. However he rejects the demands by seven well-known directors that the ten-man jury should be abolished and replaced by a team of jurors from theatre circles. He says this would be the end of the "division of power." Not even the threat of a boycott and an anti-festival could sway the organisers. Despite many dubious decisions by the jury of critics in recent years, selection by directors themselves can hardly be the right solution to the crisis.

Liselotte Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 23 May 1980)



'Tanzabend II': a change in style. (Photo: Gert Weigelt)

Little dancing, but humour shines through

Pina Bausch's latest production at the Wuppertal Dance Theatre, *Tanzabend II*, is a refreshing departure from some of her more recent work. The emphasis is on humour and playfulness rather than overt social indictment.

Despite the title, there is hardly any dancing in the performance, except when an ensemble member dances under a lawn sprinkler.

The precise description of this genre is "piece." Neither director Bausch nor playwright Raimund Hoghe with whom she was working for the first time, could think of a title.

The audience had to wait 3½ hours before the curtain fell on Bausch's little world. The deafening applause at the end showed that the wait had been worthwhile, although the second part of the production lacked the intensity and power of the first.

The first part is among the best Bausch has produced in the last three and a half years, since she stopped using literary and musical material and concentrated entirely on "pieces."

This first part is a carefully composed mosaic in which clichés and conventions of human society are ridiculed, sometimes ironically, but mainly tolerantly and gently: for example the expressions we use when we express our condolences or wish someone a good journey.

Bausch's ensemble illustrate how, consciously or unconsciously, we all wish to show our individuality, even if it is only in our gait, our gestures, our poses, by smiling bashfully or pulling faces. And how quickly one reveals oneself in such attempts.

Secret wishes are portrayed by Bausch's sunbathers, and this scene is humorously accompanies by Judy Garland's *Over the Rainbow*.

Striptease scenes and scenes in which legs are shown and opened abound. Nude photographs are taken and naked male buttocks are meant to stimulate our imagination.

There is a strong impression that these people have not yet got over puberty. The thousand silly little things, the nonsense, are signs of infantilism.

Bausch directs it all subtly and unobtrusively, to the accompaniment mainly of Elizabethan madrigals by John Dowland and John Wilson.

The mood for long periods is one of relaxed merriment. Only rarely do glaring, cheeky or aggressive scenes occur.

But occasionally playfulness does abruptly change into terrifying seriousness, as in the case of unsuccessful attempts to establish contact or apparently harmless children's games, or when a brutal voice asks people what they are afraid of.

Fear seizes the audience at a ritual performed to the accompaniment of Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance march, which sounds like a national anthem, and at the sound of which people panic.

The Bausch ensemble performed extraordinarily well. Meryl Tankard is the best of the women. Lutz Förster, constantly changing parts, is the pick of the men.

Jan Minarik creates scenes of inner turmoil with short statements. Hans Dieter Knebel is the personification of helplessness and of helpfulness at the same time.

Ralf John Ernesto as an expert magician appears sometimes on the stage and sometimes among the audience. Indeed the whole ensemble frequently goes down among the audience and establish contact with them.

The superb first part of the production (sets are designed by Peter Pabst and Marion Cito) cannot disguise the fact that Pina Bausch's theatre of movement still has problems with proportion, structure and and dramatic organisation.

As for the content, memories of childhood, everyday middle-class living and solitude are illustrated convincingly and poetically. The tone is, however, more muted.

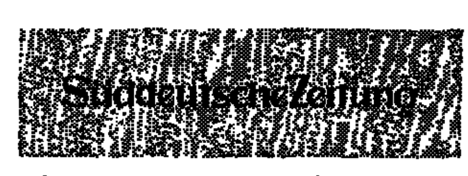
The defiance and rebelliousness of previous productions have almost disappeared.

Helmut Schöler

(Der Tagesspiegel, 21 May 1980)

■ HEALTH

Anatomy of a hungry person with an emotional appetiser



A study among 1,200 primary and secondary school pupils shows the close relationship between psychological factors and eating habits.

The findings of the study, carried out by Georg Koscielny of the Hanover Technical University, were discussed at a meeting of the Work Group for Eating Habits (AGEV) in Göttingen.

Koscielny's results back up what is commonly known: that individual eating habits on the one hand satisfy an instinctive drive to physiologically maintain and regenerate the body and, on the other, particularly pleasurable foods satisfy a psychological drive.

The dominant motive in the first case is plainly and simply hunger, which is not particularly pronounced in our latitudes.

This is taken care through the set rhythm of mealtimes.

In the second case, food selection is guided by yearnings which are titillated by a vast range of food.

Food and drink can serve to satisfy a psychological hunger as a substitute for other emotional needs. Eating attitudes become a vent for psychological difficulties.

Though half of the respondents in Koscielny's study said that emotional stress deprived them of appetite, 20 to 40 per cent reacted in exactly the opposite way.

The greater their troubles at school or within the family, the more they ate.

It turned out that 40 per cent of the respondents were regularly plied with food by their parents whenever psychological problems arose.

Those who had grown used to sweets and cool drinks as a balm retained their need for this balm in stress situations, developing oral behavioural patterns.

This reversion to the oral pleasure experienced in infancy and childhood is the more pronounced the less the individual can satisfy his sexual needs. Psychoanalysis speaks of sublimation.

Those of the respondents who had already had sexual experience were less eager to reach for snacks between meals than their opposite numbers in the same age group who had not experienced sex.

As soon as a satisfactory sexual relationship has been established, the polls show, the desire for sweets diminishes and oral attitudes become similar to those of adults. This group drinks more beer, wine and other alcoholic beverages as well as soft drinks than do juveniles in the same age group who have had no sexual experience. They favour milk and lemonade.

The study also shows how eating habits are developed through the imitation of parents. The process is unconscious for both parents and children, and the patterns and habits thus developed are hard to change in later life.

A bad parental exemple, especially by the parent the child considers most important, has such a lasting effect that even the general ideal of slenderness fails to dominate.

In families where large helpings are eaten, where nothing is left on the plate, and where second helpings are common, the children are likely to acquire these eating habits for life.

The parental order to finish everything on the plate should have become obsolete in our day and age. And in fact 13 per cent of the respondents say that their parents never ask them to clean up the plate.

Twenty per cent said that they weighed more than they would like. It turned out that they belonged to families [that] ate in great quantities.

Only 10 per cent remembered [having] ever been told to eat less; 90 per cent, on the other hand, remembered [their] parents saying: "If you don't [eat] what's on your plate I won't lo[ve you] any more."

This, according to Koscielny, i[s the] most dangerous instrument of up[bring]ing because it links eating habit[s with] the withdrawal of love.

It is this attitude that makes [food a] substitute for love, and children b[rought] up in this way are likely to seek [refuge] in eating whenever a conflict s[itu]ation arises.

This results in obesity and, i[n] turn, impairs not only the looks [of the] person afflicted but his wellbei[ng as] well.

Jürgen-Peter Sti[...]

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 May [1980])

Children victims of the rising divorce rate

There were 108,000 divorces in Germany in 1976, almost double the 59,000 of 1966.

And the number of children involved was 106,000, compared to 60,000.

But these alarming figures say nothing about the destinies behind them. They do, however, warns Professor Joest Martinius, child psychologist at the Max Planck Institute for Psychiatry, indicate the degree of risk for this minority group.

The children concerned suffer disturbances in their social development and the delinquency rate among them far exceeds the national average.

This also means that they have a hard time integrating in a community and establishing long-term ties with a partner. They frequently run foul of the law.

The public, which now shows a g[rowing] interest in juvenile delinquency [and] drug addiction and ponders ways [and] means of prevention, should start [with] the causes which frequently lie in fa[mily] discord, says Professor Martinius.

But equally important, he stresse[s, is] to differentiate between the patholo[gical] factors, the strongest of which is no[t the] separation of the parents but that w[hich] preceded it or which might follow it.

Recent British studies show that [the] loss of a parent (say through death) i[s] much less at the root of a child['s] abnormal social development than is t[he] breakdown of a family through divorce.

This observation makes it clear t[hat] family disputes and disharmony betw[een] the parents are much more harmful t[han] death to a child's social development.

A comparison of children from "[nor]mally" intact homes where the pa[rents] are feuding with each other and a g[roup] whose parents have already been se[pa]rated by divorce shows that chi[ldren] from the first group are particularly [en]dangered.

While the general rate of school [chil]dren with psychiatric problems in [the] Federal Republic of Germany (as [in] other countries with a similar so[cial] structure) is about five per cent, [the] figure rises to 35 per cent for chi[ldren] from families where the parents are [war]ring.

A separation of the parents is [the] lesser evil if this means that the fig[hting] come to an end or at least that the [child] is no longer involved in it.

Says Professor Martinius: "Unfortuna[]tely, our new divorce law has not i[m]proved the child's position in this r[e]spect. Visiting rights provide a const[ant] source for fighting."

To prevent his, Professor Marti[nius] recommends the establishment of [psy]chiatric counselling centres. Such c[oun]selling should be compulsory prior [to] divorce. Though this is not an ideal [so]lution, for many people it is prob[ably] the only way of obtaining inform[ation] on the consequences for the chil[dren of] family feuding and divorce.

This would also enable the coun[sel]lor to establish contact with the fam[ily] concerned and to work on the probl[ems]

Continued on page 13

Making the patient realise it's all in the mind

Psychosomatics was the dominant theme at this year's Lindau Psychotherapy Weeks.

The Lindau Weeks, with their many lectures, seminars and discussions, attended by some 150 internationally known representatives of their respective fields have always played something of a pioneer role.

But there has always been a danger of collective self-deception among the medical profession — a self-deception concerning realities once back home in their practices.

If, as Professor Wolfgang Wesiack of Ulm University pointed out, the doctor treats the patient rather than his illness and if he sees in the patient a partner seeking help rather than the subject of symptoms, the consequences for his work will be grave. Such a therapy cannot be carried out by devoting five minutes to each patient.

Before a therapy can set in research results must be available as must a scientific theory. And it so happens that there is no scientifically secure theory of psychosomatics.

Rolf Engel of the Munich University Psychiatric Clinic said that research centred primarily on the psychological effects of physical treatment. He pointed to research into the psychological drugs which are used to treat the mind.

The other side of this research coin, i.e. the effects of psychological factors on physiological processes, has remained a domain of psychoanalysis with its classical hypotheses and speculation along the lines of Sigmund Freud.

Freud used the term "conversion" to express a mechanism through which emotional conflicts and attempts to solve them cause physical symptoms such as pain or paralysis.

The physical symptoms are a language with which to express suppressed ideas.

Here, the role of biological-genetic, physiological and social elements is as important as that of purely psychological aspects. Even so, we still do not know under which conditions the illness will be temporary or will develop into a crisis or become chronic.

But what does this mean for the therapy?

Ilse Rechenberger, of the Düsseldorf University Clinic, said that what mattered first of all was to treat the physical symptoms. This should be coupled with a circumspect attempt to bring about a change of consciousness in the patient who usually considers himself physically ill in cases of psychosomatic disorders.

A mere physical therapy would confirm the patient in this view. At the same time, he would reject any confrontation with the psychological conflict within him.

Such purely physical therapy directed at the symptoms rather than the cause of the disorder and treated with drugs in ever increasing dosages can eventually lead to genuine physical damage.

On the other hand, a patient would be overtaxed if he were confronted with a psychological explanation from one moment to the next.

Experience also shows that patients consider themselves slighted when a doctor doubts the physical nature of their illness.

This is largely due to the fact that our society still views psychological disorders with suspicion. The aim must therefore be to make the patient gradually recognise the psychological component of his illness along with the physical manifestations.

Was the Lindau meeting more utopia than reality?

Thinking of their everyday lives as doctors, many participants must have said to themselves: "It all looks good in theory."

Josef E. Schnorrenberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 May 1980)

■ CHILDREN

Dyslexic pupils run risk of later crime, conference told

Scientists have offered a theory connecting dyslexia and crime in later life.

Psychologist Volker Ebel told delegates to a conference at Bad Nauheim that many children suffering from dyslexia, which affects the reading ability — left school to avoid being constantly faced with their own failures.

The danger then was that they might commit crime to compensate for inferiority feelings.

Curt Weinschenk, Professor of Child Psychology at Marburg University, said that in two homes for delinquents in Hesse, he found that a third of the youngsters were dyslexic.

A third of the inmates in a men's prison were also dyslexic, according to his definition.

And the rate in a women's prison was 22 per cent.

"There is no development towards criminal behaviour which is as inevitable as that of congenital dyslexia," said Weinsschenk.

The constant blows to the child's self-esteem was the cause of deviant behaviour.

Ebel said: "Whether we call it dyslexia or reading and writing difficulties, whether it is inherited or caused in early childhood, whether it is the or the cause of behavioural problems, difficulty learning to read and write could be connected with crime in later life".

Ebel gave his reasons for this view. He regarded dyslexia as an example of learning difficulties "and here I am concerned with people and not with definitions."

He believes that there are simply "constellations" which make it difficult for children to learn "the important socialisation factors of reading and writing."

"The child's reduced performance capacity is not noticed, or not fully appreciated, at pre-school age. The child that learns to speak late, that scribbles when its peers are already drawing is often excused, protected."

The real problems started at primary school, usually in the second year. The child now became acutely conscious of failure, could not compete with others, regarded itself as lacking ability, thought there was something wrong with him.

"The environment that until then had lovingly protected him now adopted the standards of the school, rejecting the child as stupid or lazy and punishing him accordingly."

To avoid continually being confronted with their own failure, many dyslexic children left school and sought success elsewhere.

Ebel said that there was a great danger that these children and adolescents might commit crimes, particularly crimes against property, to compensate for their feelings of inferiority. There was also the possibility of drug addiction.

Ebel said: "I want to make it clear that I do not regard this as inevitable, but many children do succumb to the danger and the temptation."

He called for early diagnosis of children with learning and reading difficulties and special therapy because "though parents could help with homework, they could not help in the cure the disorders."

Weinschenk also said that special classes at school were not suitable and pointed to successes at Marburg University Clinic, where individual therapy and training had produced good results.

The concept of dyslexia as a description of difficulties in learning to read and write is itself controversial, and this controversy raged at the conference.

Bonn and *Land* government were criticised for not doing enough to help.

Ebel told the conference that "it is mainly the children who suffer as a result of the current epistemological dispute about the existence of dyslexia. The discussion is being carried out at their cost."

This was a clear reference to the conclusions government and *Länder* have drawn from the dyslexia discussion.

Weinschenk, took a similar line, saying that the controversy suited politicians down to the ground because they dor not need to bother about special classes for dyslexic children.

The conference title was: Contributions to Research on the Current Problem of Criminality. Dyslexia and drug-taking were the main topics on the agenda.

The debate on whether dyslexia exists at all and if so how it should be defined, treated and cured, has been going on for decades now. In 1951 psychologist Maria Linder described it as a weakness in learning to read and, indirectly, in learning to write correctly among children who were otherwise relatively intelligent. Other definitions followed.

Many explanations of the causes were produced. Some adduced the influence of cultural, social and family milieu, others attributed it to faulty visual and auditory perception, others (Weinschenk included) said it was hereditary.

In the sixties and early seventies the definition of dyslexia was narrowed down in various tests. Politicians took this research to heart and published decrees stating which children were to be classified as dyslexic.

In 1974 Jörg Sohlee threw all other definitions overboard and denied that dyslexia existed at all. Politicians soon followed suit. The ministers of education, in their conference resolution in April, 1978 dropped all references to dyslexia, referring instead to children "with particular difficulties in reading and writing."

A decree published by the Lower Saxony Ministry of Education on, June 26, 1979, says that these difficulties should be overcome by paying special attention to these children.

Many decrees now make no mention of special training for primary school teachers or special measures to help these children.

Claudia Dillmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 May 1980)

Home life link with poor school record

Poor school performance is largely the result of family and social circumstances according to a study by the National Institute of Vocational Education.

The study showed that 36 per cent of backward pupils came from families where the parents were divorced or separated or one of the parents was dead. Another 14 per cent of slightly less backward children came from families with only one parent.

Eighty per cent of "backward" pupils and 74 per cent of pupils with learning difficulties cane from the lower classes — as compared with 55 per cent of secondary modern school pupils who pass the school leaving certificate.

The information on family background and social origin showed that the causes of these difficulties are largely social. Backward pupils grow up in conditions unfavourable to, or at best not conducive to, academic achievement.

The study says that social origin has a clear influence on the way the children are brought up. The parents of backward children are less prepared to discuss things when differences of opinion arise than other parents.

Often they were indifferent to their children's successes and failures and in general were not so interested in bringing their children up to be independent.

The parents' influence manifested itself in different ways. Parents of pupils who passed the school leaving certificate attended parent-teachers' meeting more frequently, knew their children's teachers better and showed more interest in day-to-day school activities.

In lower class families, parents were mainly concerned that their children should obey their instructions and punish then when they fail to do so.

Similarly, these parents only showed interest in those aspects of their childrens school life they could directly supervise.

Anything beyond this, anything requiring personal initiative, was too much for them.

The authors of the study recommend more contact in future between teachers and parents of backward children.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 May 1980)

Continued from page 12

arising from broken marriages for both parents and children.

Another important aspect is to recognise the father's important role in the development and upbringing of the child and to accept his suitability as the parents to whom the child is awarded.

Though our judiciary favours the mother as the natural person to look after a child, this does not always coincide with factual suitability.

The importance of these problems for our society cannot be stressed enough. The lack of love in childhood and the experience of uncertainty and aggression at home plus the realisation that ties are fragile and can easily be broken has an effect on the future lives of children who, in their turn, become parents and pass on to their children the aggressiveness they themselves have experienced.

Horst Meermann

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 May 1980)

■ OUR WORLD

Day-to-day bric-à-brac floods into TV show

Three thousand German television viewers have sent in a variety of objects which they consider are typical of their everyday lives.

Items include a tennis racquet, kitchen utensils, silver cutlery and the complete contents of a musician's work desk.

This avalanche was inspired by the television entertainment show, *Bio's Bahnhof*, and Cologne "happening" artist HA Schult.

Schult gathered the items and showed the result on a subsequent *Bio's Bahnhof* programme.

As was to be expected of a performance-oriented society, the everyday life of many respondents was life at work. It is therefore not surprising that for most the consciously experienced life was the time spent earning a living.

Even the tennis racquet that found its way to the studio did not come from a tennis player but from a man working in a sporting goods store.

The man who sent the racquet and the woman doll-maker who sent in a doll seem to be more satisfied with their lives than the musician who wrapped the contents of his desk, complete with a score sheet, into a package that could have found a buyer in a gallery of modern art.

In an accompanying letter, he explained what the package signified for him: "The confession of a would-be composer who didn't make it."

Housewives sent in kitchen utensils, demonstrating that their everyday lives were reduced to pots and pans. One woman sent in a broom, complete with a handful of dirt: an ironic self-assessment of the German housewife 1980.

TV sets and refrigerators show that television viewing and eating still play a major role. A complete set of silver cutlery bears witness to an affluent society as does an expensive Buddha figure that might have adorned a bathroom.

Schult has gathered all these mosaic stones and turned them into a monument to everyday life. This monument is to demonstrate how questionable the values are that we have created for ourselves and to which we have devoted our time.

The items that were sent in prove that Schult is right with his contention that our values have turned into non-values. As far back as the late 1960s, Schult held an exhibition in a dormant minefield to draw attention to the danger to our environment.

Even so, there will be voices that will reject Schult's latest action and deny that it has anything to do with art.

The fact that he studied at the Düsseldorf Academy of Art and that he has created works of art that can be measured by traditional criteria will fail to convince the purists.

They will find his 1980 art work in *Bio's Bahnhof* as unconvincing as the parallel he drew between his action and the programme of the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne.

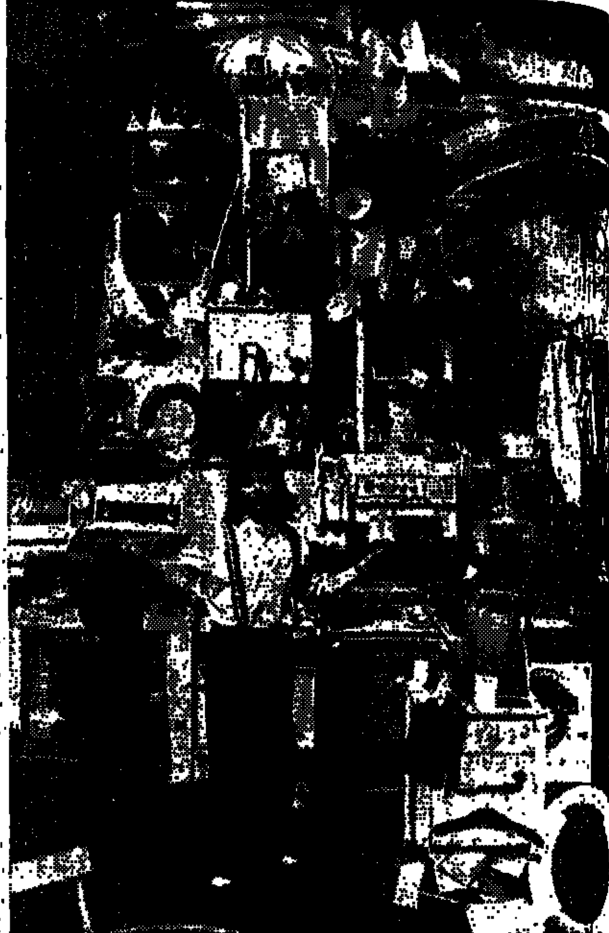
Supported by the museum's director, Schult picked the museum as the central depot to which the parcels were to be sent. After all, the museum's exhibition of home furnishings and items belonging to the everyday life in Roman-Germanic days has proved a great success.

But then, everyday life must be 2,000 years old to be appreciated. For Schult, this is the wrong way to look at history and he is trying to correct it.

He sees the monument to everyday life in *Bio's Bahnhof* as an archaeological stocktaking of our era and as the nucleus of a 15-metre monument to the present, which he intends to erect outside the Archaeological Park in Xanten — an imposing memento to the concentrated present which will decay in less than 2,000 years. The Xanten monument is not to remind us of past glory but of the fact that the present will become the past of the future. The fact that all this is taking place in an entertainment programme should not be used as a criterion by which to measure artistic value. Schult's answer to the detractors was given at a soccer stadium in 1978 in the form of a poster: "Art does not make policy but the viewer of art does."

Helmut Camphausen

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 15 May 1980)



Artist HA Schult stands before his collection: 'archaeological stocktaking of our era'. (Photo: Elke Kes)

Move to legalise tenancies for student squatters

The growing density of anti-nuke posters that tells the visitor that he is nearing 71 Paracelsusstraße in Stuttgart's Plieningen borough.

A placard on the gable of the house proclaims: "This house is inhabited once more!"

A spoof on the Lord's Prayer gives some insight into what makes the young students tick who occupied the building several weeks ago. The "Our Father" poster reads: "Our Capital which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Investment; Thy Profit come..."

The two dozen squatters in the three-storey house are just holding a meeting. The main issue is: What to do when police and wreckers arrive?

Amazingly, they actually say "the police" rather than "the fuzz" or "the pigs". Is this a change of mental attitude or only an indication that the Hohenheim University is more moderate than its counterparts in Berlin or Frankfurt?

Agreement is soon reached and it turns out that the students do not want violence. One girl even goes so far as to lay claim to her right to fear and flight.

There is a deep-seated mistrust among these young people. They feel that they are being deceived by the authorities, the police, the landlords and construction companies.

The students are certain that they will get beaten up if the police actually takes action to clear the house.

Says one of them: "Only the public protects us from police violence."

So their big wish is for a few newspaper reporters to be present when the police arrive.

But the time for that has not yet come. Manfred Gann of the Housing Authority has inspected the three occupied houses in the university area and declared them fit for habitation. He now wants to persuade the owners to sign short-term leases with the students.

This is to relieve the owners of the concern that the students would refuse to leave when the time comes to raze the houses.

What the students have in mind is not rebellion. What irks them is that the three houses have been unoccupied for up to three years while 43,000 Stuttgarters are looking for a place to live; and more than 1,000 of them are students.

Comments one of the squatters: "Houses are left unoccupied for years while students are pounding the pavements in search of a tolerable pad ... political asylum applicants are charged DM300 a month for a bed – not a room."

Only ten years ago, the police would have been dispatched instantly to put an end to such an attack on the rights of landlords. But times have changed – if only slightly.

The neighbours are full of understanding and donate money, flowers and even furniture. Only a week earlier, the squatters at 71 Paracelsusstraße organised a children's party.

There are more than 100 students in the three houses, all of which are due to give way to modern apartment blocks.

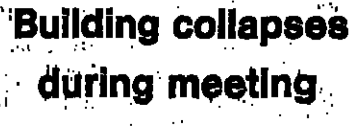
Among the squatters are some newly graduated academics in search of a room or small flat. But the minimum price being around DM200, they are out of luck.

Granted, those who belong to the so-called "alternative setup" stand a chance of finding a bed in one of the housing communes. But this does not change the fact that whole blocks of houses stand unoccupied while their owners wait for the wreckers.

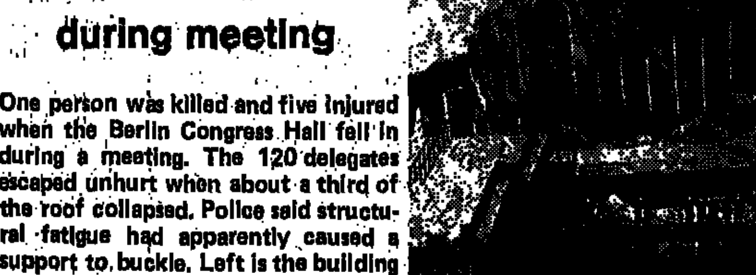
The Housing Authority's Manfred Gann holds that the students' housing problem can only be mitigated, not solved. His recipe is to promote

Continued on page 15





Building collapses during meeting



One person was killed and five injured when the Berlin Congress Hall fell in during a meeting. The 120 delegates escaped unhurt when about a third of the roof collapsed. Police said structural fatigue had apparently caused a support to buckle. Left is the building as it was. It had become an architectural landmark in Berlin.

(Photos: dpa, Sven Simon)



■ SPORT

In the basket, with a little American help

Terry Schofield is an American in Göttingen. He lives in the better part of town, in an apartment furnished in a fashionable blend of old and new.

In his living room, for instance, there is a tall glass cupboard full of China figurines, old Thringian style, but the shelves are lined with American books and there is a *Time* magazine on the table.

It nestles between other US magazines and the magazine of the West German Basketball Association, whose chief coach he is.

He has been in Göttingen for seven years but did not hit national headlines until this spring when he and his team, BC Göttingen, confounded the pundits to win the national championship title.

As national team coach he also recently returned from Geneva and a successful outing, although an unnecessary one as it so happened, to the Olympic qualifying tournament.

Europe's leading basketball countries were all there except the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. West Germany came sixth, a creditable performance that was largely Schofield's doing.

It was the basketball squad's best showing for years in which performance has been at an all-time ebb and the decline in fortunes has been accompanied by squabbles.

"Even in Geneva the boys did not play as well as they are able," he says, and he is not alone in feeling the squad could go further.

Mike Perry, another US basketball missionary in Europe, agrees the Germans are sleeping giants who need only to be woken up to come into their basketball own.

Schofield has started waking them up, and in retrospect it is surprising that basketball officials did not hire a trainer from their sport's country of origin earlier to get them out of the rut.

He was hired as national coach on a 12-month contract a year ago and, with only a few days to go, was not yet sure whether he would be offered fresh terms but said:

"We shall have to see whether I carry on, but the work has certainly been most interesting."

Schofield is one of an entire category of US basketball aces for whom Europe is a substitute for the professional career they missed out on back home.

Every year 1,000 US students leave college, where they have played for the university team for years, but only 15 or so are signed on by major league clubs, with contracts worth $ 150,000 a year or more.

"I dreamt from childhood of becoming a basketball pro," he says, "but I didnt make it. At UCLA I was not one of the top five."

So he crossed the Atlantic instead and on balance feels he could have done much worse. He works as a tutor at Göttingen University, giving English lessons.

But the rest of his time, 70 to 80 hours a week, is spent playing basketball. He played in the Göttingen colours for four seasons and was instrumental in building up a basketball following of thousands.

In Göttingen it is the No. 1 sport. Elsewhere it is an exotic also-ran. Göttingen, Hagen, Giessen, Bamberg and Bayreuth are the strongholds but there is little strength in depth.

"West Germany lacks the tradition that basketball has in the States," he says, "and playing standards can only be improved by working from the bottom up." Even capped international players still make elementary mistakes.

One of many mistakes he aims to eliminate is, for instance, that national league teams spend an hour training. It consists of 15 minutes' basket practice and 45 minutes' play.

Wasted time, he reckons, and a crying shame, since Germans often have the right build for basketball. But there is no sure-fire recipe for success, as Bundesliga clubs tend to imagine.

It cannot simply be a case of hiring a US coach and a US goal-scoring ace and hitting the high road to championship success.

"The imaginary compulsion to deliver the goods is too much of a strain. Many US players suffer from what can only be described as culture shock, feel homesick and have difficulty getting to make themselves understood."

They often fly back home as suddenly as they came. Schofield is chary of great expectations. "Ambitious yes," he says, "but it must still be fun."

Europe is a beautiful continent and basketball is first and foremost an aesthetic game, he feels, and that's how he plays it.

Stephan Balz

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 24 May 1980)

Continued from page 14

construction of student housing and to improve relations between students and landlords.

As in all university cities, Stuttgart, too, has hundreds of furnished rooms that remain empty because the landlords do not need to rent anymore or because they shirk away from problems with the young people — or both. But this won't get us anywhere.

Present housing legislation that forbids the conversion of residential housing into business premises or speculation by means of razing existing housing and erecting new premises stipulates: "Housing is a special type of property that cannot be replaced by any other and therefore requires special protection by the community."

The Stuttgart students have only applied the yardsticks given them by the politicians.

Rolf Henkel

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 25 May 1980)



Hamburg beaten

Fall at the last hurdle: Hamburg SV were beaten 1-0 by Nottingham Forest (England) in the final of the European football cup in Madrid. Here, Forest goalkeeper Shilton moves to stop a shot with Hamburg's Milewski up in attack. Hamburg dominated most of the game, building attack after attack, but the defence of the English team held out after Robertson had put them ahead in the first half. (Photo: Wilfried Witters)

New star in the women's tennis firmament

Almost exactly a year ago tennis officials were dumbfounded by the news that Bettina Bunge, an unknown teenager, had disposed of No. 3 seed Katja Ebbinghaus in straight sets in the first round of the Berlin Open.

They were even more surprised to learn that Miss Bunge, who lives in Miami, held a German passport. But they took prompt action.

Helga Masthoff, the outstanding post-war player, had just retired, but Sylvia Hanika from Munich looked a promising successor and she and Bettina Bunge could lay the groundwork of a fine women's team.

Fräulein Bunge was born in Adliswil, Switzerland, in 1963, grew up in Lima, Peru, and has lived with her parents in Miami for the past two years.

For the past year she has played only tennis. West German chief coach Schönborn held initial talks with her mother, her constant tournament companion, at the French Open in Paris.

He and her father signed a 12-month contract committing Bettina to three weeks' training and taking part in the Berlin Federation Cup over Whitsun 1980. In return she was to be paid DM15,000, plus expenses and a return air ticket.

Her rise has been meteoric. She is now ranked the world's No. 26 computer seed, which makes her an established player. Her tennis is refreshing and looks like child's play in comparison with the obvious effort put in by, say, Tracy Austin.

She seems to stroll through her games in an easy-going manner, going up to the net and showing sure ball sense as she scores some spectacular points.

Yet she took her first real tennis lessons only last spring. Before she came over to Europe last year her father sent her to Pancho Segura in California to learn the ropes.

It was a one-week course costing $ 5,000. Bettina had never been on anything like the three-week training course that led up to her Federation Cup appearance in Berlin.

One morning when coach Schönborn began with gymnastics and fitness training she candidly admitted she had never done anything of the kind before.

She was not at her ease in the spotlight of her first games for Germany, but in the 2-1 against Sapin she beat Monica Alvarez-Mon 6-4, 6-2, while in the doubles she and Sylvia Hanika beat Perera and Pelon 6-3, 6-2.

Hans-Jürgen Pohmann

(Die Welt, 22 May 1980)



Bettina Bunge (Photo: Werek)